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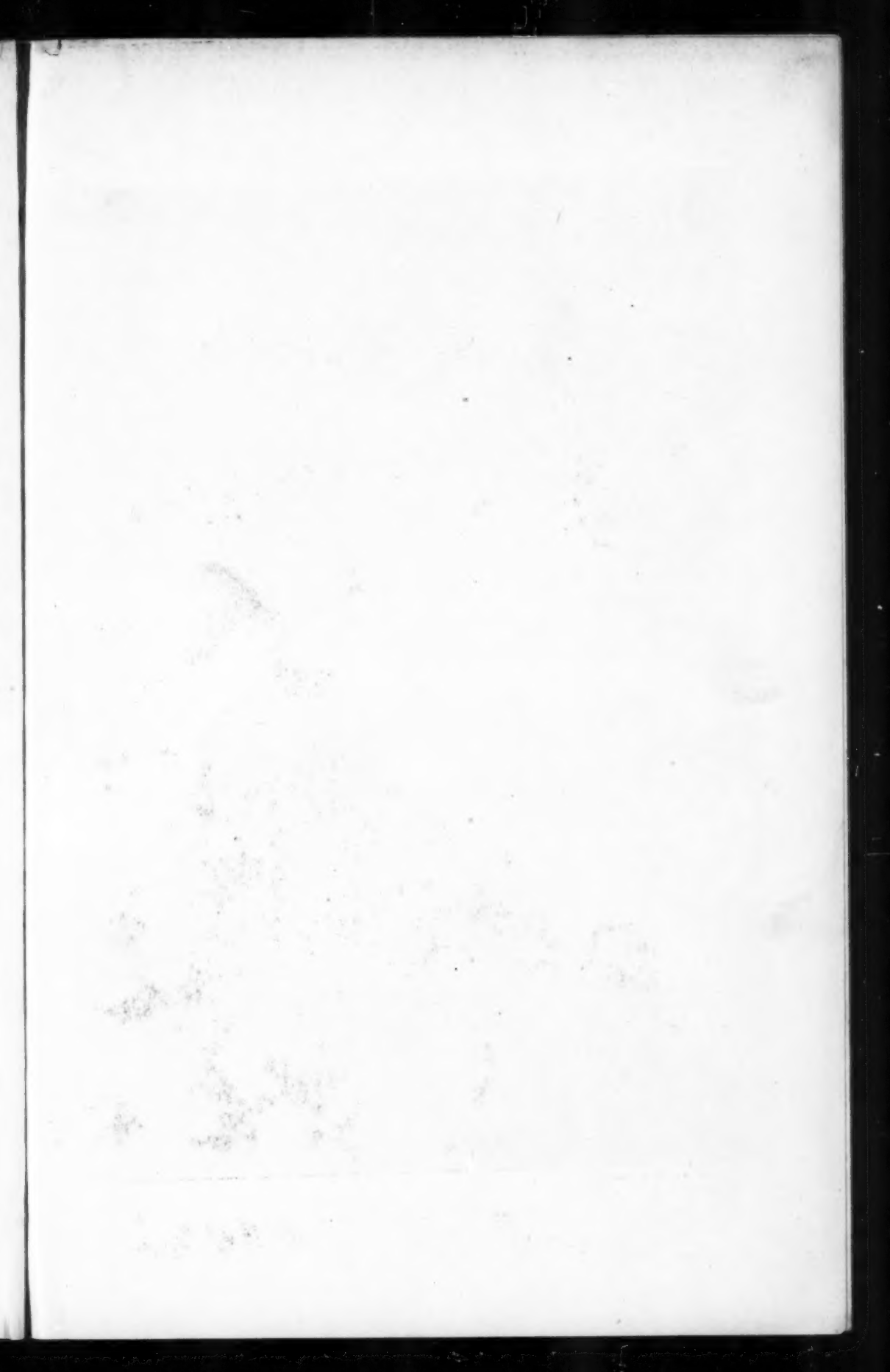




Photo. by Sarony New York.

MINNIE MADDERN FISKE.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

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THE SOUL OF MAN IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY SCULPTURE: A STUDY OF MR. PARTRIDGE'S PORTRAIT BUSTS.

By B. O. FLOWER.

THE SCULPTOR whose imaginative power renders him capable of achieving great work and whose spiritual nature is so awakened as to enable him to understand the dignity and meaning of life, is like the great poet, painter, novelist and prophet, who can say with Carlyle: "Now, indeed, I am independent of the world's smile or frown, since I am in harmony with God and have His smile as the light of my life. I have got into the blessed region of the Everlasting Yea."

Several years ago, on entering the studio of William Ordway Partridge, our eyes fell on the legend, "Character is Destiny," engraved in bold letters above the platform on which the master and his assistants labored. From this motto we turned to examine the sculptor's work, and here, it seemed to us, was found the secret of that subtle spiritual power or quality in master creations which makes their influence distinctly morally invigorating.

The man of genius must possess in large degree the imaginative power that

enables him to penetrate to the heart of things, to enter the Holiest of Holies and become one with lives that he wishes to portray. But who has not felt a difference in the effect produced upon the mind by master creations of men of genius, whether in the worlds of poetry, painting or sculpture? Some appeal primarily to the sensuous side of life, while others awaken moral enthusiasm and stir the profound depths of the spiritual nature.

Man is a spiritual being. Naturally though often blindly he gropes for the light, aspires to that which is higher, hungers for an ideal. As the seed in the dark ground feels the compulsion of the sun and struggles to the light and heat, so the soul of man throughout the ages has slowly, toilsomely, but none the less positively, reached out toward the Divine Life, which, though not perceptible the physical senses, enwraps him as to light enfolds the flying bird.

Man is spiritual, though the divine essence is frequently veiled by materiality as in winter for days the face of the sun



BYRON,
By William Ordway Partridge.

is shrouded from the earth. Now it is not enough that the man of genius should possess the seeing eye. Unless he is spiritually awakened, so as to discern the real being behind the veil, he is liable to place the primary emphasis on the exterior or the materialistic side of life. This was the master defect of Grecian sculpture, especially after moral idealism began to decline. Thus, as has been well observed, the great works of Praxiteles are well-nigh perfect in the esthetic representation of sensuous life, but they are signally wanting in the soul quality which inspires that which is noblest and finest and best in the heart of man; and it is precisely this quality, complementing the fine imaginative penetration of the man of genius, which pervades in a striking manner the work of many of the greatest present-day sculptors, and it is this quality that gives special value to the work of Mr. Partridge.

In all his work there is this two-fold excellence: fidelity to the subject in hand, with that touch of idealism,—that emphasis on the soul or real self, that makes the work radiate a helpful influence, makes it give a moral uplift to the imagination of those who have eyes to see and souls to sense the subtle something in all the creations of genius that minister to the spiritual side of life.

In recent years this sculptor has devoted much time to portraiture—the representation of great characters of modern times. Now this kind of creative work required an eminent degree of penetration and discernment, in order to reflect at once the outer and the inner man; being true to the life and the thought of the subject, yet never losing sight of the fact that all men are children of God, are spiritual beings, who in nature image the Divine.

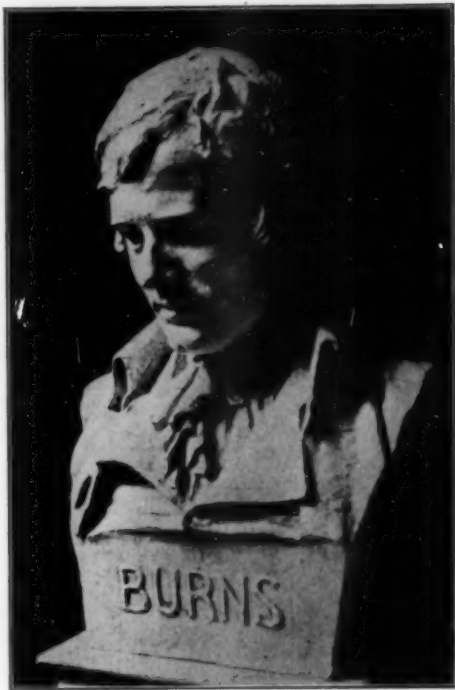
Among the many portrait busts that this sculptor has made in recent years



MILTON,
By William Ordway Partridge.

we give our readers some fairly typical examples that well illustrate the wide range of life depicted and the admirable manner in which the poet-sculptor has portrayed the originals, making the soul shine forth and accentuating the dominant note struck by his subject on the higher plane of expression. These representative poets, philosophers, thinkers and emancipators are real heroes of civilization whose work in elevating, developing and advancing humanity while increasing the happiness of the race, contrasts strikingly with the work of the heroes of war or destruction who have risen to sinister eminence, but who, owing to their egoism, self-absorption and spiritual blindness, have left behind them blight, ruin, hate and despair.

Here we have a study of Milton, the austere poet of the Protestant Reformation and of the revolt of the people against the despotisms of the Stuarts. As Homer was the blind bard whose tran-



BURNS,
By William Ordway Partridge.

scendent imagination enriched the dawning days of Western civilization, Milton was the poet of eagle imagination in the gray dawn that heralded the age of freedom and popular rule.

From Milton we turn to Franklin, one of the most speaking works in portraiture that has been produced by an American sculptor. Here we almost imagine the cheerful and simple child of a new world, a new philosophy and a new political order will utter, even while we peer upon the sculptured bust, some of those wonderfully droll sayings that were so pregnant with homely truth and practical wisdom. One accomplished critic, after seeing this bust observed:

"One cannot regard this head without smiling. Any moment, you feel sure, he may mop his forehead with a bandana and replace his hat; meanwhile you are actively conscious of the teeming brain inside that solid-looking head—a brain that is at work sizzling and fermenting, getting up



FRANKLIN,
By William Ordway Partridge.

schemes in a manner to circumvent the devil. This inimitable portrait is the work of a hand that knows its own cunning."

Franklin was one of the most complex natures the New World has produced, and yet perhaps the most typically American of all the illustrious citizens of the New World; and this portrait reveals the fact that Mr. Partridge has entered into such intimate *rapproch* with the "Poor Richard" of the printer's world, the marvelous philosophical student and the peerless statesman as to represent the real Franklin in a most realistic manner.

Now let us consider the poets, Burns, Byron and Shelley. Each represents in a fine way the subtle presence of the artistic imagination. Burns, the free-hearted child of the people and lover of justice and singer of the broadening life of the common man, with prophetic vision beheld what the wisest men of his day little dreamed was hastening on the wings of time. Mr. Partridge's study of Burns is

particularly excellent. One can almost imagine these lips are ready to exclaim:

"Then let us pray that come it may—
As come it will for a' that—
That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree, and a' that:
For a' that, and a' that,
It 's comin' yet for a' that,
That man to man, the world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that!"

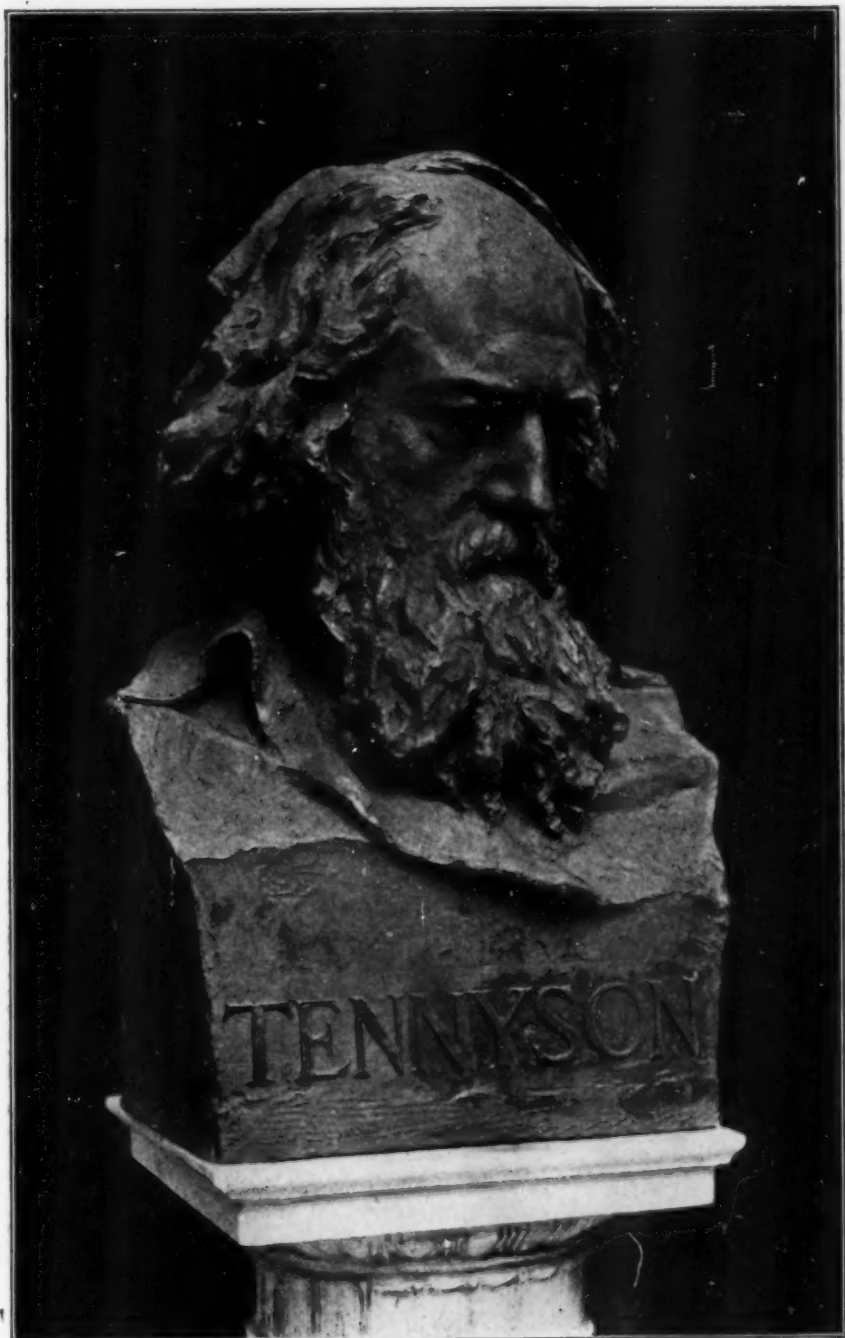
In the portrait of Byron it will be observed that Mr. Partridge has chosen to represent the poet on the threshold of early manhood, ere the baleful effects of the Venus-world had left their marks upon his plastic features. In the history of nineteenth-century literary men we know of no fate so melancholy and essentially tragic as Byron's. Gifted with a rich poetic imagination, with a nature as delicate as a finely-strung instrument that responds to the lightest passing zephyr, had he been favored during the formative period of life with an environment of love, sympathy and appreciation, and had he entered manhood happily married to a spiritually strong woman, how rich might have been his gift to civilization and how nobly joyous would have been his full-orbed life; for resident in his heart was so much that was fine, noble and true, and here was so deep a love of justice and freedom, that with his wealth of imagination and wizard power with words, he might have fanned the moral enthusiasm of generations and become a great factor in sweeping millions of lives to a higher plane of being. The potentiality for good and the sensitive delicacy and possibility of becoming clay in the hands of environing conditions, whether good or ill, are all suggested in this portrait of the young Byron, whose life and poetry naturally suggest his contemporary, Shelley.

One has only to examine the portrait bust of this poet to appreciate the presence of that subtle, dreamy, haunting spirit of unrest—hope mingled with doubt, expectation treading on the heels of unsatisfied desire—which marked in so large a way the life of Shelley and which expressed the tremendous struggle of opposing forces



SHELLEY,

By William Ordway Partridge.



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ALFRED TENNYSON,
William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



WALT. WHITMAN,
By William Ordway Partridge.

among the revolutionary youths of his time. Shelley was intensely human, and over his sensitive mind the hopes, aspirations, dreams and longings of the Angel of Light warred with the spirits in revolt on the lower plane, who sought the mastery of men among the revolutionary forces no less than among others of the highest-wrought and most sensitive natures of that time. Mr. Partridge has created a noble piece of work in this head, and as we look on the speaking face whose tempestuous life went out so tragically while the day of manhood was yet far from its meridian glory, we call to mind these words, which welled from the depths of the emotional nature of a great soul:

"I will be wise,
And just, and free, and mild, if in me lies
Such power, for I grow weary to behold
The selfish and the strong still tyrannize
Without reproach or check."

Or perhaps these words from the exquisite poem on "Intellectual Beauty" come to the mind:

"The awful shadow of some unseen Power
Floats, tho' unseen, amongst us,—visiting
This various world with as inconstant wing
As summer winds that creep from flower to flower,—
Like moonbeams that behind some piny mountain shower,
It visits with inconstant glance
Each human heart and countenance;
Like hues and harmonies of evening,—
Like clouds in starlight widely spread,—
Like memory of music fled,—
Like aught that for its grace may be
Dear, and yet dearer for its mystery."

"Spirit of Beauty, that dost consecrate
With thine own hues all thou dost shine upon
Of human thought or form,—where art thou
gone?
Why dost thou pass away and leave our state,
This dim vast vale of tears, vacant and desolate?
Ask why the sunlight not forever
Weaves rainbows o'er yon mountain river,
Why aught should fail and fade that once is shown,
Why fear and dream and death and birth
Cast on the daylight of this earth
Such gloom,—why man has such a scope
For love and hate, despondency and hope?"

In Tennyson, Whitman and Whittier we have a trio of poets who delivered vital messages after Shelley and Byron had ceased to sing. Mr. Partridge's Tennyson is, we think, one of the greatest pieces of portraiture that has been produced by an artist of the New World. In speaking of this work Mr. Robert Burns Wilson in an admirable criticism which appeared a few months ago in *The Studio*, observed:

"This head of Tennyson, Dr. Van Dyke says, is the best portrait of the poet extant, but aside from its being so fine a piece of portraiture, the head would have its value for the perceiving mind apart from the glamor of 'Locksley Hall,' 'The Princess' and the 'Idylls of the King.' This is essentially the head of the music-master of any age. The spirit's impatient, patient battle with the eternal drag of material things is written on these features. That Tennyson fought the battle well is known in his long life, his great work. The record of the fight is written in this face."

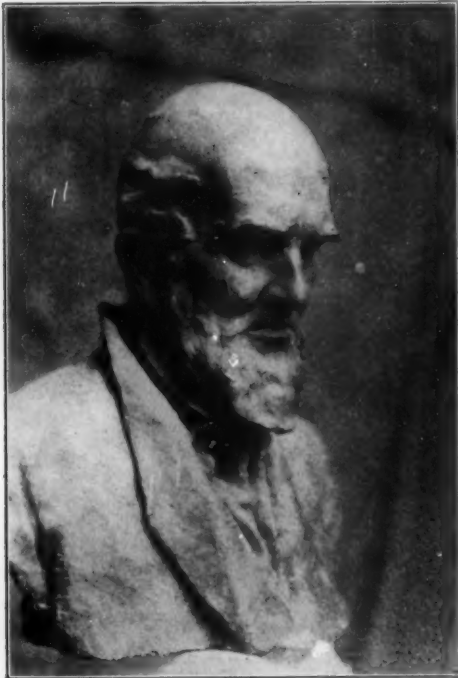
The sculptor was extremely fortunate in the advantage he enjoyed in preparing Tennyson's bust, as he passed a day with the poet and was thus able to work from life. This bust of Tennyson and those of the other poets, thinkers, philosophers and emancipators that our sculptor has so



THE MADONNA.

A Twentieth-Century Conception.

William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



WHITTIER.

By William Ordway Partridge.

faithfully portrayed, suggest the new ideal that it is the august duty of twentieth-century spiritually awakened men of genius to present before the imagination of the young. No man can conceive the momentous results that will follow the transfer of the imagination of the young from self-centered war-gods to the prophet-poets and inspirers of the higher and finer sentiments of the truly civilized man; from the Alexanders, Caesars and Napoleons, of whom we have had such a surfeit in literature during the recent years, to the Hugos, the Ruskins, the Tennysons, the Whittiers, the Lowells, the Lincolns and the Markhams. The whole front of civilization will be changed when the mind of youth is fed on that which awakens moral enthusiasm and creates a passionate love for all the children of men, instead of being riveted on the ideals which embody, first of all, force, and secondly, self-interest. This change means the lifting of the imagination and ideals of

civilization from engrossment in material concepts to the spiritual sphere from which life must more and more draw its inspiration and upon the dominance of which the uninterrupted progress of civilization depends. Let our schoolrooms be filled with busts of Lowell, Longfellow, Whittier, Bryant and Tennyson; of Fröbel, Ruskin, Grotius and Hugo; of Jefferson and Lincoln. Let the walls be decorated with reproductions of works of those great masters in art who have externalized lofty and immortal dreams. Let the teachers dwell upon the works and the lives of these great personalities who have enriched the world of art and literature and played upon the highest chords of the emotional nature; and the transforming effect will be almost inconceivable, acting day by day on the plastic character as the sculptor's touch which fashions the clay.

Whitman and Whittier suggest so much that is rugged, strong and morally healthful that they call for much more extended notice than it is possible to give at the present time. Each reflects the man—the soul of the man. Here is the sturdy, iconoclastic democrat, free-soaring child of America, with much of the elemental passions in his being. And here is the austere yet sweet-souled Quaker bard who was alternately a prophet of freedom and human rights and the sweetest singer of the America of the nineteenth century.

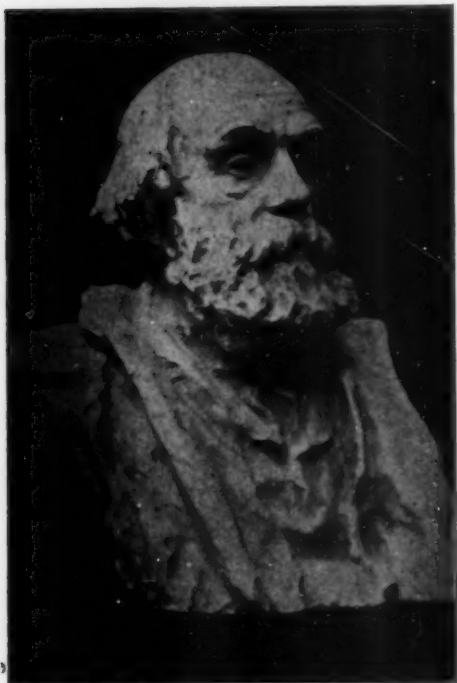
Another portrait that is justly famous is that of the Rev. Edward Everett Hale. This, like that of Tennyson, was made from life. The great Unitarian divine, who is at present chaplain of the United States Senate, and the sculptor have long been intimate friends.

But among Mr. Partridge's heads we think none of them is more entitled to unstinted praise than the magnificent portrait bust of Abraham Lincoln. Here we have the rugged son of the soil, the apostle of justice and democracy, the wise statesman and brave emancipator, who dared to tread the pathway of duty even though it led to a martyr's death. Lincoln represented the spirit of democracy in a greater



Photo. by Darling, New York.

CORNER IN MR. PARTRIDGE'S STUDIO, SHOWING HIS "NATHAN HALE" AND
"THE PEACE STATUE."



EDWARD EVERETT HALE,
By William Ordway Partridge.

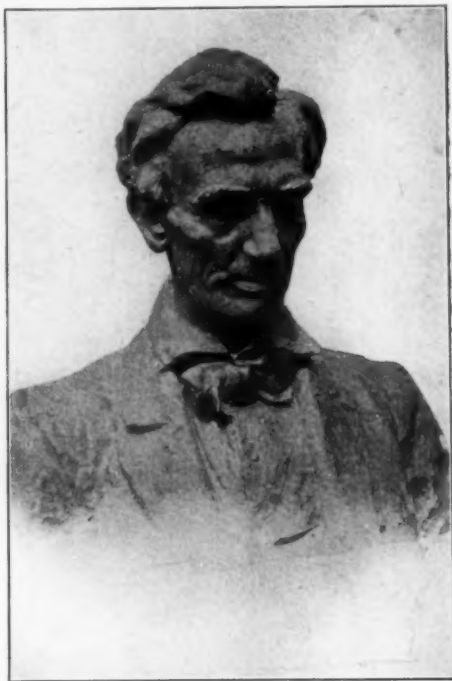
way than any statesman since Jefferson. On looking at his plain yet grandly true face, we involuntarily think of the finest of all pen-pictures of this great man,—the master-poem by our chief poet of democracy, Edwin Markham:

'When the Norn-Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,
She bent the strenuous Heavens and came down
To make a man to meet the mortal need.
She took the tried clay of the common road—
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of Earth,
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy;
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.

"The color of the ground was in him, the red earth;
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving-kindness of the wayside well;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky."

The poet and the sculptor are naturally enough warm friends, for their ideals and aspirations are largely in common, and the best bust that Mr. Partridge has made since he completed his Lincoln is undoubtedly that of Edwin Markham. It is instinct with life. All who know the poet will appreciate the fact that it is probably the most speaking likeness extant.

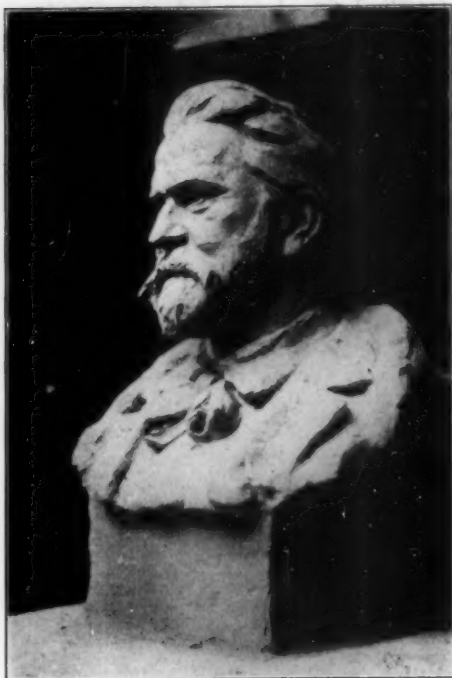
We close this sketch of Mr. Partridge's work in portraiture with a glance at a corner of his studio in which is found his magnificent statue of Nathan Hale on his way to execution, and one of his latest works, the remarkably fine ideal creation entitled "Peace." Nathan Hale is a favorite character with Mr. Partridge. He has written a fine appreciation of this high-minded young patriot, and the statue shows that the sculptor has thrown his whole heart into the work. In it the patriot, facing death, has thrown his head back in the act of uttering the famous regret that he had but one life to give for



LINCOLN,
By William Ordway Partridge.



PEACE STATUE,
William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor.



EDWIN MARKHAM,
By William Ordway Partridge.

his country. Such work is necessarily inspiring and uplifting. The lesson of

Hale's devotion should be impressed on the mind of every youth in the land. So also ought the lofty ideal of peace suggested in this late concept of Mr. Partridge, in which the Goddess of Concord is represented as having broken the sword of force.

Our sculptor, in common with the spiritually awakened and the nobly idealistic men of genius everywhere, is a staunch champion of peace and human brotherhood. The Peace statue embodies an idea that is very dear to him and one that he believes is destined to grow with each advancing year until it becomes an all-powerful or dominating ideal throughout the civilized world, in spite of the little men, the materialists and those who see nothing beyond the outward trappings and show of things, who vainly imagine that physical force, great armaments and crushing military burdens are a better protection for a free people than that moral idealism that during the early days of our national life made the Republic the greatest moral world-power in the family of nations.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

THE ULTIMATE ISSUE INVOLVED IN RAILROAD ACCIDENTS.

By CARL S. VROOMAN.

THE WIDESPREAD discussion of the question of railroad accidents which has been carried on so vigorously during the past six months in all parts of the country, has brought to light the fact that more than one-half of the accidents to travelers and employes are avoidable. This discussion has made plain furthermore that the expense involved in the abolition of avoidable accidents is very far from being prohibitory—that in fact this expense could be provided for out of the yearly increase in railroad profits or out of

the yearly surplus profits of roads, without in any way interfering with the payment of the usual honest dividends to the stockholders.*

Moreover, if the railroads should attempt by a juggling of accounts to dispute this proposition, it might easily be shown that there is still another huge reservoir of capital available for this purpose—the ever-swelling, non-productive dead sea of railroad watered stock. It would

*See "Can Americans Afford Safety in Railroad Travel?" *McClure's Magazine*, August, 1907.

seem wiser, therefore, on the part of the railroads not to enter into any discussion or contest which would tend to drag this question into the foreground, for if ever the American people are called upon to render a decision as to the right of financiers to coin the bones and blood of railroad victims into dividends on fictitious values, there seems to be little doubt as to the probable nature of their verdict.

HOMICIDAL ECONOMIES. MUST STOP.

In the face of these undeniable facts, it seems at last to have become apparent, to railroad officials as well as to the public, that a continuation of the present policy of economy in railroad management at the cost of human life, is impossible. At the next session of Congress legislation doubtless will be enacted, requiring the introduction of some of the most successful safety appliances on all passenger-carrying roads as well as the carrying out of other much-needed reforms such as the abolition or effective guarding of grade crossings. But unfortunately this is very far from being all that is required. If all the patchwork reforms which have been suggested by competent experts during the past year were to be carried into effect in the most approved way, there still would remain to be dealt with other causes of railroad accidents still more complicated and deep seated. What railroad managers need most desperately to-day is not greater technical competence or even better financial backing, but rather a new spirit, a change of ideals, a large increase in the *moral capital* with which for the past few years they have been doing business.

The statement of a Western railroad official to me recently that "a large percentage of our railroad accidents are due to the belief on the part of the railroad directors that it costs less to pay for accidents than to prevent them" is deeply significant. The fact that this remark was made with no apparent relish on his part, but pensively and solemnly as one would

speak of the awful and inevitable catastrophes which result from the blind and merciless workings of the forces of nature, serves to call our attention once more to the gruesome fact that however intelligent and humane railroad officials may be personally, in their official capacity they too often become only so many cogs in a complicated and conscienceless mechanism which knows but one supreme purpose—the extraction from the public of the largest possible dividends on the largest possible quantity of watered stock. In regard to this particular category of industrial organization the socialist undoubtedly is right—"It is not the individual but the system which is at fault." For this reason it becomes clear that in the great work of social reconstruction which lies before us, the first practical step to be taken does not consist of that great task for the accomplishment of which 1900 years have proved all too short—the spiritual regeneration of the individual members of society—but rather of the more modest work of raising our corporate morality from the level of the hyena and the tiger up to the pitifully unsatisfactory but distinctly higher standard already attained by us as individuals.

AN APPALLING SITUATION.

The whole world was horrified last year at the stories sent out from Italy by newspaper correspondents concerning the state of demoralization in which the Italian railroads found themselves. I made a special trip from Paris to Rome in order to investigate the matter, and find out, if possible, the cause of this extraordinary situation, which reached its climax three months after the government had taken the railroads out of the hands of private companies. In Italy I was asked, as I had been in each of the different European countries in which I had been studying the railroad problem, how American railroads compared with European lines. My response invariably was that, while from a social and political standpoint our rail-

roads left much to be desired, while they were tyrants in the world of business, and debauchers of our political life, that from a mechanical and economic standpoint, they probably were as good as the best in the world. What was my amazement, therefore, on arriving in this country last autumn, to find that traffic on all the railroads in the Northwest was in a worse state of demoralization than it had been on the Italian lines a year before, and that in other parts of the country, while traffic was still being handled after a fashion, the generally unsatisfactory conditions of the service seemed to indicate that immediate and far-reaching reform was the only thing that could prevent a large part of our transportation system from falling into a state of serious inefficiency.

Government inspectors at the Interstate Commerce Commission, men who are constantly going about examining the condition of the roads, told me that a very large number of them in all parts of the country to-day are being run with an utter disregard for sound business principles; that anyone can walk along miles of track pulling up spikes with his fingers from rotting ties; that new and heavy engines are being put on such light rails that the wonder is they stand the strain as well as they do; and that the roadbeds have been allowed to deteriorate and become so uneven that a train going at a moderate rate of speed wobbles until it is a matter for continual surprise that it stays on the track at all. When I first heard these stories I hoped to find that they were exaggerated. But on a recent trip to Georgia I found them all verified down to their smallest details and that on one of the oldest, and formerly one of the best roads in the State, viz., the famous "Georgia Railroad," known for half a century as the "Old Reliable."

A DECADENT RAILROAD.

The attention of the Georgia Railroad Commission was called to the unsatisfactory condition of the "Georgia Railroad"

in a petition presented January 25th by Mr. Bowdre Phinizy, the editor and proprietor of the *Augusta Herald*. Mr. Phinizy, who is one of the most forceful writers in the state, thereupon began through the columns of his paper a campaign which he declared would not be ended until the lives of the traveling public were held to be more sacred in the State of Georgia than the swollen profits of railroad corporations. This editor is no irresponsible agitator. The Phinizy family is not only one of the oldest and wealthiest families in the South, but actually owns more Georgia Railroad stock than any other single interest. It is perfectly true, as his opponents urge, that owing to the fact that the Georgia Road since 1881 has been leased to other railroad corporations which are bound by their contract to keep the road in first-class condition, the improvements demanded by him will not cost a cent to the Phinizy interests. But at the same time it is equally true that the improvements for which he is fighting would in no way increase the yearly rental of the road or the dividends of its stockholders. Moreover Mr. Phinizy is not a politician, striving to gain a partisan advantage by a demagogic attack on the policy of the party in power. He is as good a Democrat as are the members of the Railroad Commission and whatever admixture of personal ambition or of desire for newspaper popularity there may be in the motives which have inspired him, the fight he is engaged in is clearly and indisputably a fight in behalf of the public safety as against the menace of private greed. Among a large number of facts which Mr. Phinizy and his brilliant young attorney, Mr. Austin Branch, brought before the attention of the Commission are the following:

1. The railroad of recent years has been so managed as to earn a dividend of over 13 per cent. on its capital stock, after paying the interest charges of \$138,000 per annum on its funded debt.

2. While from 1895 to 1905 the gross earnings have increased 89.7 per cent. and

the net earnings have increased 126.9 per cent. the amount expended on maintenance of way and structures has increased only 33 per cent. In other words the percentage of the gross earnings which this road has spent on maintenance of way and structures has decreased steadily from 16 per cent in 1895 to 11.2 per cent. in 1905.

3. This state of affairs has been allowed to come about in spite of the rapidly growing demand for ever heavier expenditures on maintenance of way and renewal of track. Not only has the freight tonnage and the number of passengers hauled more than doubled during the past ten years but the weight of engines and trains has increased so enormously that as Mr. Phinizy says: "Rails that would have borne the traffic ten years ago snap with the brittleness of glass beneath the weight of trains to-day. A roadbed that was safe and smooth and sufficient in 1895 is beset with pitfalls and hazards now." Thus the lives of passengers and railroad employes are seriously endangered every day that the Georgia Railroad's huge engines weighing 90 tons are allowed to drag enormous trains over an unballasted track and on 65-pound rails—rails which are about 33½ per cent. lighter than those used by street-car lines in the city of Augusta.

When his petition came up for consideration, Mr. Phinizy went before the Commission with a collection of spikes which he and his attorney had pulled from rotting ties with their own hands; with some samples of cross-ties which had reached such a state of decomposition that they had to be brought into Court in bags, together with his own affidavit, and one by his attorney, to the effect that in two miles of track on the main line they had counted 219 ties that were "rotten, split or unsound." He had a pocketful of affidavits sent to him voluntarily by people living along the Georgia Road, sustaining every statement he had made. The attorney for the road could not disprove these

facts. Moreover, to make the confusion of the defense worse confounded the Georgia Railroad had a wreck or a breakdown of some sort about every other day during the entire period of nearly two months, that the case was being contested before the Commission. The Railroad urged in its defense that while it was true that accidents were frequent and that a number of employes had been mangled, killed and even parboiled, yet up to the present time, only one passenger had been killed in the entire history of the road.

The prosecution replied that it was to be hoped that the Commission would not wait until in some horrible catastrophe the road had mangled, killed or perhaps roasted alive a score of passengers before insisting that universally recognized principles of sound and safe management should be lived up to; and showed that while railroads all over the world are constantly putting on faster and ever faster trains, the Georgia road had only avoided a harvest of fatal accidents by following the opposite policy of lengthening out its time tables. As an instance of this they pointed to the fact that whereas it formerly required only five hours to go from Augusta to Atlanta it now requires six full hours even when, as is almost never the case, the train is on time.

In the light of these facts and with the law explicitly providing that "the Railroad Commission is hereby empowered and required upon complaint made to inspect for themselves or through an agent, the railroads or any railroad or any part of any railroad in this state, etc.", there was nothing for the Commission to do but to order an inspection of the road.

Unfortunately for all parties concerned, however, the fight was not yet won. The road having put a few gangs of men to work replacing the rottenest ties, here and there, and making a few other comparatively unimportant repairs, thereupon the so-called "expert," after

a very hasty and superficial examination of the road, made a report in which its most glaring defects of management were skilfully covered over with a combination of bouquets and whitewash. This narrow and shortsighted action on the part of the railroads, the Commission and their "expert" however produced a result the very reverse of that expected. Intelligent people all over the state were deeply offended at this awkward attempt to throw dust in their eyes and partially as a result of this unfortunate fiasco, the Legislature at its summer session reorganized the Commission and added two new Commissioners. A few days later the Governor suspended one of the old Commissioners, Mr. Jos. H. Brown, and appointed to fill out his unexpired term of seven weeks, Hon. S. G. McLendon who recently had been elected as his successor. As Governor Hoke Smith has taken a very strong and advanced position on the railroad question, and was elected on a railroad reform platform, it seems highly probable that his new Commission will take vigorous action to secure for the people of Georgia a greater degree of safety in railroad travel.

THE HEART OF THE PROBLEM.

The problem of correcting the form of abuse so strikingly exemplified by the Georgia Railroad, and which Interstate Commerce Commission Inspectors say is a widespread condition on American roads, is a much more difficult one than that of securing the introduction of a few safety appliances. Such a state of affairs indicates a deep-seated disease which we shall find it very difficult to cope with by means of mere legislative palliatives. Legislation can patch a little here, and tone up a little there, but it will hardly be able to infuse new life into a system which seems to be without any normal vitality or healthy business instincts. To be sure the French government has worked out a most elaborate system of legislation on this very subject,

regulating every detail of railroad construction, organization and management. Not a mile of railroad is allowed to be built in France until its plans and specifications have been approved by the government, nor can that road be operated until the government inspectors have pronounced it safe and satisfactory. Not a locomotive is allowed to be built that does not fulfil the requirements laid down by a government commission, nor can locomotives so built be put into active service until government inspectors have pronounced them up to the mark. Moreover, at any hour of the day or night, the Minister of Public Works or a Prefect can command a railroad to take any measure which is considered necessary to insure the safe transportation of persons and property. But while in this way the French government seems practically to have exhausted the possibilities of state railroad regulation, at the same time it must be admitted that its complicated and inelastic system has proved to be not only costly but far from satisfactory.

Some such system, however, apparently will have to be worked out in the United States, unless we decide to follow the example of Germany, Belgium, Switzerland and Italy, by embarking on a *régime* of government-ownership; or unless our railroad directors and managers, experiencing a change of heart, can be induced to stop using the railroad lines of the country as pawns in a great game of chance—unless the predatory hyenas and tigers of Wall street can be persuaded to give up the ambitions and practices of the jungle, in order to subject themselves once more to the galling rules and regulations of legitimate business, and to bend their untamed energies to the comparatively profitless and insipid work of providing adequate transportation facilities for the country at a reasonable remuneration.

There are in the world three generic systems of railroad management; the governmental type, found in Germany,

Belgium and Switzerland, etc., where the railroads are run primarily to serve the public, to build up national industries, and to advance civilization. This type has the smallest number of killed and mangled passengers and employés, for dividends are strictly a secondary consideration. The second type is to be found in England, where the roads are run primarily as a money-making proposition, but where the government has made a strenuous effort to insure the safety of passengers and employés, and where furthermore railroad managers realize that in order to make the roads permanent dividend-producing properties, the public must be given a reasonably satisfactory service; and where though competition in rates exists no longer except in theory, there actually is a good deal of competition in the quality and quantity of service offered to shippers and travelers. This type has more accidents than the governmental type, but decidedly fewer than type number three, which happily is to be found only in America. Here many of our railroads are run primarily for speculative and predatory purposes, secondly for dividends, and as for the welfare of the public, the opinion of entirely too many of our railroad kings on that subject was somewhat bluntly, but on the whole perhaps not so very inaccurately, expressed in the famous and infamous phrase of William H. Vanderbilt, "The public be damned!"

To be sure, Mr. Vanderbilt was a mere dilettante and a bungler at railroad manipulation, as compared with some of our more up-to-date Wall-street artists. These distinguished luminaries of the financial firmament long ago discovered that the legitimate dividends to be made out of railroad properties are but a mere bagatelle as compared with the profits to be gained from the employment of more modern financial methods. Large dividends are sometimes useful as a basis for new issues of watered stock,

but the money to be made in the way of legitimate profits comes too slowly to be at all satisfactory to men of this type of genius. Therefore, the ordinary motives which inspire mediocrity, such as the commonplace sentiment of legitimate business pride and the natural desire to make ample provision for one's old age and for one's family are quite forgotten in the mad impulse to swallow up rival railroad systems, to unload large issues of watered stock, to connive and combine with other corporations and "trusts" in limitless schemes of public plunder, for the purpose of building up those colossal fortunes which are at once the admiration of the vulgar, and the nightmare of the statesman.

Our inexcusable car-famine in the Northwest, the holocaust of death-dealing accidents through which we recently have come, as well as the tendency of all our railroads to concentrate into ever fewer, astuter, and unworthier hands, are but symptoms all of the deep-seated dry-rot which permeates a large part of the corporation business of our time. Effective legislation on the subject not only is imperative, but it must come soon if we are to escape an industrial and political crisis from which may issue we know not what sort of ill-advised and sweeping attempts at social reconstruction. A reorganization of our commercial and industrial life along saner and more ethical lines is certain to be brought about in the near future. If we do not wish this forward movement to be made along the shining grooves of socialism, a concerted and vigorous effort must at once be started to direct it into more normal channels if such can be found. The movement towards reform cannot be stopped. In another decade it may be even too late to guide it. This generation has in its hands a great opportunity and a great responsibility.

CARL S. VROOMAN.

Washington, D. C.

THE STORY OF RIMINI.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, PH.D.,
Of the University of North Carolina.

I.

EVER since Dante, in Canto V. of his *Inferno*, immortalized the story of Paolo and Francesca, in that brief passage that the world concedes to be the most perfect, in all poetry, of the pity and the tragedy of love, countless writers have been irresistibly attracted to the theme, giving it many and widely differing interpretations. The story itself is not a mere figment of the imagination, but, like all the great stories and romances of world literature, is closely related to historic fact. Indeed, it was only fifteen years after the tragic event recorded in the *Inferno* that Dante went to live at Ravenna in the very house where Francesca had lived, as the guest and friend of Guido Novella da Polenta, own nephew to the Francesca whom Dante had immortalized. It was this same Polenta who ultimately gave Dante a funeral of ceremony and impressiveness, crowning the dead poet with a wreath of laurel.

Certainly, in English literature, no writer takes precedence of Chaucer, in point of time, as an interpreter of the Da Rimini story. Chaucer's treatment of the theme is of interest to us to-day chiefly as an evidence of the remarkable fascination the story has possessed for the poetic mentality of every age. An interpretative reading of the original Chaucer version is recalled with interest and amusement; the odd oaths, quaint language, strange motivation, and stranger ethics kept the audience in a continual roar of laughter.

It was not until the early part of the last century that a second English writer, Leigh Hunt, was attracted by the Rimini story, and it was while he was in prison for libel against the Prince Regent during the years 1814 and 1815, that Hunt wrote his "Story of Rimini." Much of the success

of this long poem of 1200 lines, published in 1816, has been attributed to the fact that it was written in the heyday of the romantic movement in England. Sidney Colvin says that the "personal affection and public sympathy which attracted some of his distinguished contemporaries to Hunt on the one side, and the fierce political rancour which pursued him on the other, gave his poem an undue weight and prominence in its day." It was not without its influence in literature, for the early work of Keats showed its rather unfortunate effect. This poem of Hunt's has latter-day admirers. Mr. William Dean Howells thought to praise Stephen Phillips' dramatic poem when he compared it to Leigh Hunt's.

Almost at the same time that Hunt in an English prison was writing his "Story of Rimini," another poet in Italy (afterwards famous through the tale of his ten years' sufferings as a political prisoner in Austria) was writing a tragedy on the same theme, destined to make his reputation and to create quite a furore in his part of the world. This young poet, Silvio Pellico, only twenty-three years old, submitted his play to a fellow-poet, Ugo Foscolo, for his decision, and the discouraging reply which he received from the gloomy Foscolo was, "Throw it in the fire, throw it in the fire; don't let us call up the damned from Dante's hell, they would only frighten the living; throw it in the fire and bring me something else." Throw it in the fire was just what the young poet did not do, and in two or three years his reward was won. On reading the play, the celebrated actress, Marchionni, recognizing at once its striking merits, accepted it forthwith and in the title rôle aroused unbounded enthusiasm throughout all Italy.

Lord Byron, in passing through Milan in October, 1817, borrowed the manuscript of the then unpublished play from Pellico, and returned it in four days with the statement that he had translated it, but of this translation nothing is known to-day. The charm and potency of the theme made such an impression upon Byron that he wrote to Murray in 1821 that he intended to write a tragedy on the subject. Why it was not written will probably never be known. Byron merely handed the subject on to his countryman, —the poet Stephen Phillips of our own day.

If the poets have been irresistibly attracted by the *Da Rimini* story, no less have the devotees of the allied arts of music and painting paid their tribute to its fascination. Goetz and Thomas with their operas; Ingres, Liszt and Tchaikowsky with their symphonies; Ary Scheffer, Watts, Rossetti and Alexandre Cabanel with their paintings, are the most distinguished names in the long list that might be detailed.

But to the decade just past belongs the distinction of witnessing the most remarkable revival of the deathless story of *Francesca* in the history of the drama. That the drama of the American poet, George H. Boker, was recently played successfully throughout this country by Mr. Otis Skinner, that such dramatists as Maeterlinck, Phillips and D'Annunzio have again breathed into the story of *Francesca* the breath of life, and that one of the most distinguished of our American novelists, F. Marion Crawford, has written a fine play for Sarah Bernhardt on the same subject, —all these events furnish the most striking proof of the vitality and validity of the *Da Rimini* story as a basis of dramatic construction.

Like Goethe's immortal *Faust*, the *Da Rimini* story is a theme of beautiful simplicity, but so incorporated is it in the life and history of the human race that it no longer seems merely a pathetic tale of two long-forgotten lovers, but in truth the epitome of life itself, in all ages and in all

times. In the passion of these ill-starred lovers is concretized and sublimated the immortality of human love and its resistless mastery over the human heart. Despite the bitterness of the lovers' fate, the irrevocability of their choice, the inevitableness and eternity of their sacrifice, is it too much to say that as long as men and women live and love, aye, as long as the world moves westward among the stars, so long will this story be lived out again—enacted and re-enacted upon the broad stage of human life.

Before speaking in detail of the recent literature of the story, it seems fitting, in order properly to orient ourselves, to touch briefly upon the historic and recorded data of the tragic story. The many versions, differing so greatly in detail and treatment, render this orientation doubly necessary. The demands of poetic fitness have led many of the interpreters of the story to cancel or distort the true facts, preserving, however, the main outline of the story. And on the whole it is well that this is so. Dante himself, with the instinct of the divine poet, gave but the bare spiritual essentials of the tragic story.

II.

It was not until about the year 1275 that the Guelphs finally gained the ascendancy over the Ghibellines in that long series of struggles that raged until past the close of the thirteenth century. The two leading families of the Guelphs were "at Ravenna, the great and popular house of the Polenta firmly reëstablished in power after the overthrow of their enemies, the Traversari, and at Rimini, the mastiff-brood, as Dante called them, of the Malatesta . . . who had for some time held the upper hand against the Ghibelline faction headed by the Parcitadi." The fierce old Malatesta da Verruchio, the head and guiding spirit of the house of Malatesta, had four sons, Lionciotto (otherwise Giovanni), Paolo, Malatestino and Pandolfo. Giovanni was nicknamed from a deformity, *Lo Scancioto* (meaning lame at the hip); Malatesta was dubbed the *One-Eyed*,

while Paolo, on account of his beauty, was styled *Il Bello*. Giovanni, though hump-backed, as well as lame, was a magnificent warrior and leader, described in the quaint style of the *Ottimo Commento* as "an open-hearted man, warlike and cruel." Besides being a gallant courtier, Paolo, the Beautiful, was also a brave soldier, serving for a while as captain of the people at Florence. History tells us that Paolo was only four years younger than Giovanni, but the poets for their own ends have widened the difference in their ages very greatly.

The violent feud which (according to Boccaccio) had for some time existed between the two houses, was superseded in the year 1275 by two marriages: first, that of Giovanni Malatesta with Francesca, the daughter of Guido da Polenta, and later, that of a son of the house of Polenta with a daughter of the Malatesta. These two marriages were arranged by Guido da Polenta and the old Malatesta da Verruchio, the heads of the two houses, for the furtherance of their political schemes. It is true that Giovanni sent Paolo to Ravenna to fetch Francesca back to Rimini, but it does not appear from contemporary records that Francesca believed Paolo was destined for her husband.

Boccaccio states, however, that Giovanni's sending of Paolo as his proxy was "part of a deliberate plot for the deception of Francesca, lest seeing Giovanni's deformity she should refuse to wed him." Naturally she fell in love, on sight, with the beautiful Paolo, who was pointed out to her as her future husband, so Boccaccio's story runs, and she was only undeceived on awakening after the marriage night at Rimini. This version of the story was given by Boccaccio in a series of lectures delivered nearly one hundred years after the occurrence of the tragedy, and it is not improbable that this turn was given to the story by the lively imagination of that novelist and teller of tales. Petrarch, a contemporary of Boccaccio, took a

opposite view and in his "*Triumph of Love*" speaks of the lovers as

"The pair
Who, as they walk together seem to plain
Their just but cruel fate by one hand slain."

Mr. Charles Yriate went to Rimini in the year 1888 to examine the records, and the result of his research was published the following year. From it we learn that Paolo was married at the age of sixteen, in the year 1269, to Orabile Beatrice, daughter of Uberto, Count of Chiaggioli, and that this marriage was consummated for reasons of state. Paolo already had a wife, then, when he escorted Francesca from Ravenna to Rimini. Giovanni and Francesca were married for ten years (1275-1285), and she bore him a daughter named for its grandmother, Concordia (sad misnomer of the discord of the union). Francesca was untrue to her husband, loving his brother Paolo, and in the year 1285, when Giovanni was podesta, or ruling magistrate of Pesaro, a town near Rimini, he discovered the lovers alone together and slew them. Amid the weepings and lamentations of the populace, the slain lovers were laid side by side in one grave. Giovanni afterwards married again, had children by his second wife, and died in the year 1304. The record shows that Francesca was given to Giovanni as a reward for the assistance he had given Polenta in subduing the Ghibellines, but nothing is said of any deception practiced upon Francesca.

Before speaking of the various versions of the Da Rimini story that have appeared in recent years, it seems proper not only to acquaint ourselves with the historical facts, as we have just done, but also to turn to Dante's *Inferno* and see how one who was nearest to the characters concerned of all who have ever written about them—to see how Dante himself treated the theme. Dante was only twenty years old when the tragedy occurred, and it was fifteen years later,

in the year 1300, that the *Inferno* was written.

In the fifth canto of the *Inferno* we see Dante, guided by his companion, Virgil, enter the second circle where "dreadful Minos stands." In mournful array sweep before him the unhappy souls condemned to eternal misery because they had deemed all else well lost for love. Semiramis, who made her law the sanction of excess; Cleopatra next, luxurious queen; Helen, for whom such years were passed of toil and woe; and great Achilles, too, with mighty love contending to the last; and Sir Tristram, Paris, and the thousands more whom love has slain.

Dante is seized with compassion and fain would speak with two shades seen flitting near. They approach and Francesca tells the pitiful tale of their undoing thus:

"Love, that in noble heart is quickly caught,
Enamored him of that fair form—from me
So rudely torn—there 's anguish in the thought;
Love, that permits no loved one not to love,
Me so enthralled with thought of pleasing him,
That, as thou see'st, its influence still I prove."

Alas, then Dante said:

"How sweet the thoughts—how ardent the desire,
That to the mournful step these lovers led."

Turning to them, these words he spake:

"Francesca, thy misfortunes fill mine eyes
With sorrowing tears, such pity they awake.
But tell me how, and by what sign confess,
Did love reveal in that sweet time of sighs
The doubtful passion struggling in each breast?"

Then Francesca to Dante:

"There is no greater woe,
Than to remember days of happiness
Amid affliction—this thy guide doth know.
But if how love did first our hearts beguile
Thou fain would'st hear, I will the truth confess
As one who tells her tale, and weeps the while.
One day, it chanced, for pastime we were reading
How Launcelot to love became a prey;
Alone we were, of danger all unheeding.
Our eyes oft met as we that tale pursued,
And from our cheeks the color died away;
But in a moment were our hearts subdued,
For when we read of him so deep in love,
Kissing at last the smile long time desired,
Then he who from my side will ne'er remove
My lips all trembling kissed. . . ."

One has a feeling of surprise in noticing how very little Dante tells of the real story. He has given but the poetic essence, the spirituality of "that great love against which the gates of hell could not prevail." He relates but one external incident, the use of the book of Launcelot du Lac, leaving to the dramatists of succeeding centuries the loving task of constructing from the pitiful story its beautiful and delicate fabric of implication and extenuation. And this dramatic revival in recent years of the tale of those two who "go forever on the accursed air," is in nothing more interesting than in showing the essentially different reactions of national intellect, as well as of poetic genius, from the self-same story, so lightly yet so surely limned by Dante—this tragedy so near to him in life and time.

III.

In speaking of the several dramatists who in recent years have felt the impulsion of the suggestive current from Dante and Da Rimini, one should not omit the name of Maurice Maeterlinck. While "Pelleas and Melisande" carries no allusion to Paolo and Francesca, the spiritual outlines of the two stories are almost coincidental. M. Maeterlinck, it seems, never touches a theme, however incorporated in the history of human culture, that he does not cast upon it a mystic, an other-worldly light. Indeed, so steeped in an atmosphere of mystic detachment and subtle symbolism are many of his plays, that their source of inspiration, their vital significance, quite often, at first, both baffle and elude interpretation.

"Pelleas and Melisande" has all the accessories of Arthurian legend, and the scene is laid in the land of Castle Nowhere, which stretches to the end of the world. The characters are sentient images divorced from the flesh and blood world of actuality, but profoundly alive to the spiritual essence of their problem. Like Francesca, the child princess Mel-

isande, apathetically, innocently, mates herself with a man on the threshold of old age; only when it is too late she discovers that a stranger, her husband's young brother, is lord of her heart. From that time forth the problem works itself out as in the Italian story. Paolo and Francesca are prototypes of Pelleas and Melisande, Lianciotto of Golaud, and Concordia, Lianciotto's daughter, of Yniold, the little son of Golaud. The rôle of unconscious informer is played in each case by the child of the unloved husband,—by Concordia in Marion Crawford's, by Yniold in Maeterlinck's play.

While the mood of "Pelleas and Melisande" is that of new century mysticism, the characters are never mere marionettes pulled by a string. If they seem pervaded by a sort of moral quietism, it is their mystic coloring that gives them this semblance. If they morally acquiesce in the decree of fate, it is because the motive forces of fate, in all their propulsive power, are converging full upon them.

The next play upon the *Da Rimini* theme was written by a young Englishman, Mr. Stephen Phillips, bearing his blushing honors full upon him from the initial award of the British Academy for his book of poems. This first dramatic effort of Mr. Phillips was dedicated to the popular English actor, Mr. George Alexander, who had asked Mr. Phillips to write a play for him. "Paolo and Francesca" was gorgeously staged in England, and as played by Mr. Alexander and his company was a notable success. It has since been successfully produced upon several of the representative stages of continental Europe.

In "Paolo and Francesca" Phillips has unhesitatingly refuted Boccaccio's "tale of coarse deception and substitution" employed in the dramas of Boker and D'Annunzio. Not only has Phillips plunged his drama in one element, creating for it "an ideal atmosphere of

pure poetry," but he has surcharged the atmosphere with the sense of fatality, the immanence of destiny. Each character is marked out by some broad trait, a method of characterization which the author has revealed in his subsequent plays; consciously or unconsciously each character becomes "the accomplice and the instrument of fate." In this respect the motive and appeal are essentially Greek, revealing all the restraint of classic traditions. As in Greek drama, the act of bloody retribution is done "off the stage," contrary to the practice of Boker, D'Annunzio, Maeterlinck and Crawford.

The play opens in a gloomy hall of the Malatesta castle, all ready to receive Francesca, the bride-to-be of Giovanni, lord of the Malatesta. Paolo leads in the lovely Francesca, "all dewy from her convent fetched." Thus soon, while escorting her hither from Ravenna, Paolo, like Launcelot of old, has realized the immortal peril of her nearness, and has resolved, as his only honorable course, to depart; but Giovanni insists at least on his presence at the celebration of the nuptials on the morrow.

Lucrezia degl' Onesti, Giovanni's widowed cousin, is a new personality connected with the tragic story, a purely fictitious character of Mr. Phillips' invention. She warns Giovanni, whom she passionately loves, against this marriage with Francesca, reminding him of the incompatibility of age and temperament. She breaks forth into a wail of regret over being a childless woman, a burst of passionate confidence which may surprise the auditor by its apparent irrelevance to the action, but which proves to be full of significance in the subsequent development of the plot. The anticipant foreboding and gloomy vaticinations of Giovanni's old nurse, the blind Angela, serve to accentuate still further the play of fatality already begun. Even when Angela prophesies that a lover shall steal in to Francesca—

"He shall be
Not far to seek, yet perilous to find.
Unwillingly he comes a wooing; she
Unwillingly is wooed; yet shall they woo.
His kiss was on her lips ere she was born"—

even after this Giovanni does not understand the implication of Paolo's fateful love.

In the second act, a week later, Paolo resolves at last to tear himself away, but not before his words and actions have inadvertently revealed to Francesca her power over his heart. Meanwhile Giovanni confers with Lucrezia and confides to her his forebodings, started by the vision and prophecy of his old nurse. Step by step, with woman's intuition, Lucrezia leads him to the truth in a scene of marked power, paralleled in D'Annunzio's play by a like situation of tremendous dramatic intensity between Giovanni and his young brother, Malatestino. The implication is complete and unanswerable. The handwriting is on the wall. Giovanni, deeply enamored of his bride of political machination, leaves the stage weakly asking himself if there are not drugs to charm the heart of woman.

In the interim Paolo has started off to resume command of his company, but so irresistibly is he drawn back to Rimini and to Francesca, that he resolves there is but one path for him to take—and that, "a straight path to the dark." The act closes on this line of peculiar loveliness:

"Under some potion gently will I die,
And they that find me dead shall lay me down
Beautiful as a sleeper at her feet."

The scene of the next situation is the shop of a drug-seller in Rimini, whither Giovanni and Paolo have come, each to buy a potion, Giovanni hoping thereby to win, at least for a few infatuate days, his young wife's love; Paolo, resolved to take his own life as the only means to preserve his purity and to shield his honor. Giovanni, masked, recognizes Paolo, hears his accidental confession of love and avowal of intended suicide, and is tempted to kill him then and there, but stays his hand, accepting Paolo's way of averting the doom

foreshadowed in Angela's prophecy.

In the next scene Giovanni is suddenly summoned away to battle, and Paolo, overmastered for the moment by the tyranny of his passion for Francesca, resolves to "see her, hear her, touch her" ere he dies. Francesca, meanwhile, in the hush just before the dawn has come out into her garden with lamp and book, to read the ancient tale of Launcelot and Queen Guinevere. Paolo enters, and in the stillness of that prophetic hour, when one might almost hear

"The sigh of all the sleepers in the world,
And all the rivers running to the sea,"

the two lovers hold sweet converse in lines of surpassing loveliness. Their dialogue is soon exchanged for an alternate reading to each other from the book in a text of quivering, trembling beauty that is Mr. Phillips' own invention. This scene, whose beauty cannot even be suggested, closes upon the fatal kiss.

Giovanni, after his return from the warlike expedition to Pesaro, learns from Lucrezia that Paolo instead of taking his life has returned to Rimini. All pity leaves him, and his one thought is to kill the lovers locked in each other's arms. Lucrezia suggests the pretext of feigned departure, which he eagerly adopts, commending Francesca with a bitter irony to the loyal care of his brother. Francesca, with bodeful dread, begs Giovanni not to leave her, but he is inexorable. In despair Francesca turns to Lucrezia for help, pity and sympathy. With a sudden revulsion of feeling almost incomprehensible in the woman plotting but a moment before for Francesca's death, Lucrezia clasps her in her arms, realizing in Francesca "the late-found child of all her empty dreams and longings." She is in an agony of fear and hurries out, hoping to find Giovanni and prevent the deed he contemplates. While she is gone Paolo enters Francesca's chamber, and there ensues a scene of high-strung, tense and reckless passion, as the lovers slowly pass out upon the balcony, under the shimmering stars. Lucrezia

enters Francesca's room, still seeking Giovanni, and sees him enter from the other side, parting the curtain through which the lovers have but lately passed. Lucrezia notices that there is blood upon his hand, and his words, "T is not my blood," tell her that all is finished.

The slain lovers are brought in on one bier, and Giovanni, shaken with deep emotion, kisses each of them upon the forehead, murmuring,

"She takes away my strength.
I did not know the dead could have such hair.
Hide them! They look like children fast asleep."

Admiration for Stephen Phillips' "Paolo and Francesca" need not imply blindness to its faults. Indeed, it seems to me he has sacrificed too much in his effort to plunge the drama in an atmosphere of pure poetry. The play is purely modern and makes its appeal to the moderns; there is nothing to localize it in Italy, to time it to the thirteenth century, to image in it the psychological traits of medieval

Italians. Lucrezia, the strongest and most virile character, the "only man in the piece," as Mrs. Wharton called her, is transformed in an instant by an unconvincing miracle of the poet's art from a plotting conspirator into a tender and pitying mother. If Lucrezia is informed with the true spirit of modernity, so, too, is Giovanni, for he is always analytical, subjective, introspective.

Taken all in all, "Paolo and Francesca" is the most signal specimen in English of the much-vaunted poetic drama of our day. Not only should we be grateful to Mr. Phillips for every entrancing line, every golden phrase of his "Paolo and Francesca," but in a deeper sense we should be glad that Mr. Phillips is helping to bring the drama of to-day to its literary consciousness, is insisting, as Mr. Howells says, "upon its recognition not merely as drama but as literature."

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INHERITANCE TAXES.

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A FEDERAL inheritance tax law heretofore has been regarded generally as a war-revenue measure—an easy way to produce large revenue quickly in time of urgent need. State inheritance tax laws, however, have been considered in a different light. At the present, in a time of immediate and prospective peace, the enactment of a Federal inheritance tax law is being agitated and one or more bills were introduced in Congress at the last session providing for the imposition of such a tax. In my experience in dealing with the inheritance tax law of 1898 I have found a considerable lack of knowl-

edge on the general subject of death duties, as such taxes were usually referred to by the older law writers.

Such duties, under some name such as succession, death, probate, inheritance, legacy or transfer taxes, have been known and enforced for centuries. They were well known in Roman jurisprudence and perhaps earlier, and were imposed upon nearly all successions to the property of a deceased owner. Gibbons, in his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, records the existence of this tax in that empire as early as the days of the Emperor Augustus, it having been then levied to provide for the support

of the army. These laws, with occasional modifications, were in force in that empire during the reigns of many emperors, the rate of taxation averaging about five per centum of the property subject to the tax above a certain value. The law, however, in any of its successive forms, did not exact the tax from the nearest relatives on the father's side. It was very comprehensive, produced a large revenue and was styled the *Vicesima hereditatum et legitorum*.

Death duties have also been collected for centuries by the later European governments. They were introduced into England as a complete system in 1780 where they have been enlarged and changed from time to time. They are now a source of great revenue in nearly all European states, notably in Germany, Austria, France, Switzerland and its cantons, Holland, Russia, Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Denmark and Sweden, as well as in the Australian colonies, Canada and some of the South American countries.

The English legacy act of 1780 is said to have been introduced and championed by Lord North, whose attention was first called to the desirability and justice of such a tax by Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*. Prior to the enactment of this law, however, there appears to have been in existence in that country what was substantially a succession tax under the old Feudal system. Under that system the Feudal lords compelled the heir or successor to property to pay them a certain sum or perform a certain service before he could be invested with the estates of his ancestor. Under the act of 1780 only legacies of personal property were taxed, but in 1853 Mr. Gladstone championed a measure, which was adopted, taxing successions to real property also. In practically this form the English succession or inheritance duty act remains at present and it is said to yield an annual income to the state of something like \$40,000,000.

Inheritance taxes were not known in this country until July 5, 1797, when Congress imposed a graduated legacy tax to be paid by stamps placed upon the receipt or other discharge for or on account of any legacy or distributive share of property. This law was in force until June 30, 1802, but for obvious reasons produced only a small revenue. The next Federal law of this character was the act of July 1, 1802, laying a tax upon the transmission of personal property by will or by intestate law. In 1864 this law was amended and reenacted and on July 13, 1866, a further amendment was adopted, extending its provisions to successions to real property. The whole law was repealed to take effect October 1, 1870, but during its continuance it produced many a million of much needed war-revenue. On August 27, 1894, the famous income tax law was passed, which also embraced an inheritance tax feature. This law was most viciously and vigorously attacked, and in the celebrated case of *Pollock versus the Farmer's Loan and Trust Company* (157 U. S., 429), the Supreme Court of the United States, on a re-hearing, declared the income tax unconstitutional, and intimated very strongly, at least, that as all the provisions of the act were so bound together as to be inseparable the inheritance tax feature could not be enforced. Hence no real attempt was made to collect the inheritance tax and it remained a dead letter until the law expired by its own terms in 1900. Then in the Spanish war-revenue act of June 13, 1898, an inheritance tax was imposed upon the transmission of personal property, this law remaining in force until July 1, 1902, when it was repealed.

Pennsylvania was the first of the United Commonwealths to enact a law of this character. That was in 1826. Since then a considerable number of the States have enacted such laws in the most of which they are still being enforced.

A full understanding of the theory

upon which inheritance taxes are based, renders it more easy to comprehend their justness and equity. It is the usual thought among laymen that the heirs of a deceased person, and particularly the heirs of the body, have a natural, inherent right to the property accumulated by that deceased. Or, to state it in another way, that each person who owns property not only owns the property itself, but has a natural, inherent right to control its disposition after death. This erroneous idea has caused much of the opposition to death duties, for having this idea it is hard for one to conceive the justness of taxing property when it changes ownership by reason of death. But it is a proposition fully recognized in law that in a state of nature property rights last just so long as possession continues and no longer, and that when possession ceases, either voluntarily, by force of arms or by death, all rights of ownership cease. In a state of nature there is no such thing as heirship or as the transmission of any property right from the dead to the living. This is a proposition recognized by the great majority of the earlier writers including Christian, Puffendorff and Grotius, although some demur to the position taken. Nearly all later writers seem to agree with the early majority, Mr. Justice Sharswood, however, an eminent authority, claiming that heirship in children is founded on natural law. Blackstone in his *Commentaries* sets out very clearly the recognized law on the subject and I quote his language:

"Naturally speaking, the instant a man ceases to be he ceases to have any dominion; else if he had a right to dispose of his acquisitions one moment beyond his life he would also have a right to direct their disposal for a million of ages after him; which would be highly absurd and inconvenient. All property must, therefore, cease upon death, considering men as absolute individuals and unconnected with civilized society, for then, by the principles before

established, the next immediate occupant would acquire a right in all that the deceased possessed. But as, under civilized governments, which are calculated for the peace of mankind, such a constitution would be productive of endless disturbances, the universal law of almost every nation (which is a kind of secondary law of nature) has either given the dying person a power of continuing his property by disposing of his possessions by will, or in case he neglects to dispose of it, or is not permitted to make any disposition at all, the municipal law of the country then steps in and declares who shall be the successor, representative or heir of the deceased; that is, who alone shall have a right to enter upon this vacant possession in order to avoid that confusion which its again becoming common would occasion. And further, in case no testament be permitted by the law, or none be made, and no heir can be found so qualified as the law requires, still to prevent the robust title of occupancy from again taking place, the doctrine of escheats is adopted in almost every country; whereby the sovereign of the state and those who claim under his authority are the ultimate heirs and succeed to those inheritances to which no other title can be formed.

"The right of inheritance or descent to the children and relatives of the deceased seems to have been allowed much earlier than the right of devising by testament. We are apt to conceive at first view that it has nature on its side; yet we often mistake for nature what we find established by long and inveterate custom. It is certainly a wise and effectual, but clearly a political, establishment; since the permanent right of property, vested in the ancestor himself, was no natural, but a civil right. Wills, therefore, and testaments, rights of inheritance and successions, are all of them creatures of the civil or municipal laws and accordingly are in all respects regulated by them."

The theory upon which inheritance

tax laws are based is founded upon two legal propositions: First, that the tax is not one upon property, but upon the right or privilege in the one possessed thereof to control its disposition after his death, or the right or privilege given to others to inherit or take from the one who dies so possessed; and second, that the right to take property by devise or descent is a creature of the law and not a natural right—a privilege and therefore the authority which confers that privilege may impose conditions upon its exercise. Not being a tax imposed on property as such, but upon an intangible thing—the abstract right to dispose of or to inherit property—the tax has never been regarded by the courts as a direct tax. On the contrary in many decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States the tax is defined as an impost duty or excise, levied by the government, upon the privilege secured by law to devisees, legatees, grantees, heirs and personal representatives, of taking, holding and enjoying all property, real and personal, or any interest therein, passing by will, by intestate law, or by any grant or gift made during life and intended to take effect at or after the death of the grantor. So a succession to or an inheritance of property may be taxed as a privilege, notwithstanding the property of the estate is taxed, and there is by reason thereof no double taxation.

Now since the right to take property by will or by intestate law is but a mere privilege created by the municipal law which may be changed, modified or repealed in the discretion of the State, and is not a natural right, it appears just and equitable that, in consideration of this privilege given by the state, the beneficiaries should contribute to the State a certain percentage of the value of the property subject to the exercise of the privilege. This is particularly true as to the privilege thus extended by law to collateral kindred, remote relatives, strangers in blood and corporations, although the inheritance of property by

lineal descendants is a privilege and not a right just the same as the inheritance of property by those of more remote relationship or of none. In other words, when the State relinquishes its right to again take to itself upon the death of the occupant or owner the property possessed by him during his life-time, the individual in whose favor the State's natural right of succession is waived, ought not to complain when called upon to pay a small amount for the valuable privilege thus granted to him.

Starting with the well-established basic proposition that the transmission or receipt of property by death is a privilege originating in the municipal law and governed by it, it follows that the State, as the sovereign, has the constitutional power to amend, modify, extend or wholly repeal such law. This premise and deduction are recognized by all law writers and have been sustained by many hundreds of decisions of courts in this and other countries. From this viewpoint an inheritance tax simply modifies the laws of descent and distribution; for if the tax be five per centum of the value of the property inherited the effect is to give the heirs or legatees of an estate ninety-five per centum of the property granted to each, and to escheat to the State the five per centum. If the State has the right and power to relinquish all its rights of succession to certain persons, no one can logically contend that it has not the equal right to relinquish only half its rights of succession or ninety-five per centum of such rights. So that while that which the legatee or beneficiary pays to the State under an inheritance duty act is called a tax and is treated legally as such, it is, fundamentally considered, simply a partial escheat to the State of the property of a deceased.

This legal situation has always been recognized in this country. In an early Virginia case (*Eyre vs. Jacob*, 14 Grat., 427), which has been quoted with approval in decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, Judge Lee said:

"The intention of the Legislature was plainly to tax the transmission of property by devise or descent to collateral kindred; to require that the party thus taking the benefit of a civil right secured to him under the law, should pay a certain premium for its enjoyment; and as it was thought just and reasonable that the amount of the premium should bear a certain proportion to the value of the subject enjoyed, it was fixed at a certain percentage upon the value of the whole estate transmitted. . . . The right to take property by devise or descent is a creature of the law and secured and protected by its authority. The legislature might, if it saw proper, restrict the succession to a decedent's estate either by will or descent to a particular class of his kindred, say to his lineal descendants and ascendants; it might impose terms and conditions upon which collateral relatives may be permitted to take it, or may to-morrow, if it pleases, absolutely repeal the statute of wills and that of descents and distributions and declare that, upon the death of a party his property shall be applied to the payment of his debts and the residue appropriated to public uses."

Thus was announced what always has been and is now the power of the State regarding property rights as affected by death. The extent to which this power may be carried depends absolutely upon the will of the people to whom legislatures are accountable. These principles have been sustained by an unbroken line of decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States. Thus in the case of the *United States vs. Perkins* (163 U. S., 625), the court said that: "While the laws of all civilized states recognize in every citizen the absolute right to his own earnings and to the enjoyment of his own property during his life, except so far as the State may require him to contribute his share for public expenses, the right to dispose of his property by will has always been considered purely a creature of statute and within legislative control. . . . Though

the general consent of the most enlightened nations has, from the earliest historical period, recognized a natural right in children to inherit the property of their parents, we know of no legal principle to prevent the Legislature from taking away or limiting the right of testamentary disposition or imposing such conditions upon its exercise as it may deem conducive to public good."

And in the case of *Plummer vs. Coler* (178 U. S., 115), the Supreme Court again said: "A State may deny the privilege of inheritance or transmission by will altogether."

From the above it must be clear that the right to tax the transmission of property from the dead to the living is based upon the fundamental proposition that the State has the right to claim all property or any portion thereof which passes out of the possession of an individual by reason of death, unless waived by statutory expression, and that when that right is waived the waiver may be upon such terms as the State may determine. Herein is pointed the road which legislative bodies may travel in the future, in meeting a growing demand among the people for legislation attempting, at least, to control or limit the accumulation of wealth.

The constitutionality of succession or inheritance tax laws has been questioned in nearly, if not quite, all the States in which they have been enacted. With few exceptions their constitutionality has been affirmed, and it is now generally recognized that under the ordinary State constitution the State has the right to impose or provide for inheritance taxes.

The constitutionality of the Federal inheritance tax laws has also been much in question, on the ground that, while each State can legally enact such laws on the theory that the State has the exclusive right to legislate upon property rights and concerning descent and distribution, the Federal government cannot legally enact them since it has nothing to do with the devolution or passing of property at death, —the control of such matters being

retained by the States inasmuch as it was not specifically delegated to the general Government. The validity of the Federal tax has also been attacked on the ground that it is a direct tax and must be apportioned among the various States. But the Supreme Court has held this contention untenable inasmuch as the tax is an excise or indirect tax the only requirement as to which is that it must be uniform.

Upon the contention that the general Government has no right to impose a death duty because it has no power to regulate the transmission of property by will or descent, there is nothing clearer and more to the point than the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of *Knowlton vs. Moore* (178 U. S., 41), the opinion having been given by Mr. Justice White. The particular contention of counsel for Knowlton, the plaintiff, is stated in this wise: If the taxes were not direct they were levied on rights created solely by the State law, depending for their continued existence on the consent of the several States, a volition which Congress has no power to control, and as to which it could not, therefore, exercise its taxing authority. In the opinion of the court, after referring to the centuries of time during which death duties have been exacted, Mr. Justice White disposes of the question in these words:

"This proposition denies to Congress the right to tax a subject matter which was conceded to be within the scope of its power very early in the history of the government. The act of 1797 which ordained legacy taxes was adopted at a time when the founders of our Government and framers of our Constitution were actively participating in public affairs, thus giving a practical construction to the Constitution which they had helped to establish. . . . Courts which maintain this view have, therefore, treated death duties as disenthralled from limitations which would otherwise apply if the privilege of regulation did not exist. . . . All courts and all governments, however, as we have already shown, conceive that the

transmission of property occasioned by death, although differing from a tax on property as such, is nevertheless a usual subject of taxation. Of course in considering the power of Congress to impose death duties we eliminate all thought of a greater privilege to do so than exists as to any other form of taxation, as the right to regulate successions is vested in the State and not in Congress. It is not denied that, subject to compliance with the limitations in the Constitution, the taxing power of Congress extends to all usual objects of taxation. Indeed, as said in the License Tax cases (S. Wall. 462), after referring to the limitations expressed in the Constitution, 'Thus limited and thus only it (the taxing power of Congress) reaches every subject and may be exercised at discretion.' The limitation which would exclude from Congress the right to tax inheritances and legacies is made to depend upon the contention that as the power to regulate successions is lodged solely in the several States, therefore Congress is without authority to tax the transmission or receipt of property by death. . . . But the fallacy which underlies the proposition contended for is the assumption that the tax on the transmission or receipt of property occasioned by death is imposed on the exclusive power of the State to regulate the devolution of property upon death. The thing forming the universal subject of taxation, upon which inheritance and legacy taxes rest is the transmission or receipt, and not the right existing to regulate. In legal effect then, the proposition upon which the argument rests is that whenever a right is subject to exclusive regulation by either the Government of the United States on the one hand or the several States on the other the exercise of such rights as regulated can alone be taxed by the Government having the mission to regulate. But when it is accurately stated the proposition denies the authority of the States to tax objects which are confessedly within the reach of their taxing power, and also excludes the national Government from almost every

subject of direct and many acknowledged objects of indirect taxation. Thus imports are exclusively within the taxing power of Congress. Can it be said that the property when imported and commingled with the goods of the State cannot be taxed because it had been at some prior time the subject of exclusive regulation by Congress? Again inter-state commerce is often within the exclusive regulating power of Congress. Can it be asserted that the property of all persons or corporations engaged in such commerce is not the subject of taxation by the several States because Congress may regulate commerce? Conveyances, mortgages, releases, pledges and, indeed, all property and the contracts which may arise from its ownership, are subject more or less to State regulation, exclusive in its nature. It cannot be doubted that the argument when reduced to its essence demonstrates its own unsoundness, since it leads to the necessary conclusion that both the National and State Governments are divested of those powers of taxation which from the foundation of the Government admittedly have belonged to them."

The same Court in a number of other cases has affirmed the constitutionality of such laws from every view-point, these decisions going back to an early period in the existence of this Government.

From the foregoing it will be seen that the right resting in the National Government to impose and collect legacy taxes is based upon a different ground than that which sustains the right of the State to impose and collect a similar tax. But the right to impose such a tax being admitted, it follows then from the decisions of the courts that the general Government has this right because of the fact that the tax is a usual one and one of long standing.

The constitutional provision for the levy and collection of inheritance tax is found in Section VIII. of the Constitution of the United States which gives Congress "power to levy and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises . . . but all taxes, duties, imposts and excises shall be uni-

form throughout the United States." So, while the general Government cannot legislate to change the Law of Succession in any State, it can tax the succession as being one of the usual objects of taxation.

The Inheritance Tax Act of 1898 was in force for four years, and since its enactment there has been collected the sum of \$22,378,053.61 as tax. Part of this has been refunded, however, following legislative and judicial constructions of the original law.

While, as first stated, a Federal inheritance tax law has been regarded, generally, as a war-revenue measure, it is now being widely discussed as a means of producing revenue for the ordinary expenses of the Government, to the end that changes in the taxing system may be made, when necessary, to accommodate the changing needs of this rapidly developing country, without decreasing the revenues or causing disturbances in the business system; and many economists regard this tax highly because of its tendency towards the distribution of wealth and because of the power which rests in the Government, through such a tax properly graduated, to regulate or prevent the undue concentration of capital through the practical entailing of fortunes for generations.

The inheritance tax has been approved generally by writers upon political economy and systems of taxation, and it is almost universally held that no tax can be less burdensome, or interfere less with the productive and industrial agencies of society.

Such tax laws have demonstrated thoroughly their utility as a successful means of raising revenue, and many eminent economists urge them in their utmost severity as conducive to the public good.

Mr. Cooley appears to be the only eminent law writer who has objected to legacy taxes, and his objection was against them because they might be made so heavy as to increase the embarrassments which usually come, at death, to the relatives of the deceased.

Under the Tax Act of 1898, exempting

legacies or distributive shares of less than ten thousand dollars, that objection would not apply. Neither would that objection apply to a graduated legacy tax with an exemption taking out of the taxable list legacies of less than three or five thousand dollars each.

Mr. Dos Passos, one of the greatest authorities on inheritance tax laws, in his work on this subject, after stating that real property bears the brunt of direct taxation, says:

"Personal property, however, in proportion to its immense value, generally escapes the hands of the collector, and in some localities, especially in large cities, to an alarming extent A collateral or direct inheritance, legacy or succession tax, it seems, presents the most complete system for reaching the class of personal property and privileges which it is framed

to embrace, because its collection is aided and facilitated by the requirement of the law, that the dead man's property, so to speak, shall somewhere and at some time pass through, either a Surrogate or Probate Court, as the case may be, for settlement and distribution."

Experience has demonstrated the comparative ease with which this tax can be collected, and the exceedingly small percentage of cost in its collection.

Although a tax of this character is opposed by some individuals of large wealth, apparently from selfish motives, there has yet to be made a sound legal, moral or economic argument against the enactment and enforcement of such a tax law. Expediency and political good judgment all seem to be in its favor.

ARTHUR B. HAYES.

Washington, D. C.

THE PERSONALITY AND THE ART OF MINNIE MADDERN FISKE.

BY KENTON WEST.

IN THE history of the English stage—a history enriched by many illustrious names and memorable achievements, the name of Minnie Maddern Fiske will be written with that select company of great dramatic artists who take the highest rank. She has done notable work—work distinguished for brilliancy, for finish, for intellectual power, subtle perception of character and a wide range of interpretation, sounding as it does the depths of tragedy, and sparkling with most delicate, vivacious comedy—work distinguished for strength and depth of original thinking, for sincerity and earnestness of feeling, and most potent sympathetic appeal; above all, manifesting in every phase that imaginative fire and glow, that subtle, illusive quality which can be described by no other word but "genius."

Mrs. Fiske's genius is unique and individual. She is distinguished for qualities of mind, of artistic method, and of personality and temperament which make it impossible to do justice to her by comparison with any actress of the past or with any famous contemporary. We may compare others to her, for she has many imitators, but the top of the mountain where she stands is not peopled by many companions. Greatness is always solitary.

The most superficial observer of the conditions of our stage must acknowledge that Mrs. Fiske's work as it stands to-day, and as it gives promise of the future is something to be reckoned with as a force in American art.

The explanation of this is to be found in her personality; her influence upon other



MRS. FISKE AS TESS.

actors; her faculty for leadership; her courageous fight against commercialism in art, as well as in her own artistic work during her long career upon the stage.

No one can meet Mrs. Fiske without acknowledging that he is in the presence of a great personality. There are no affectations about her manner, there is no posing, no talking for effect, no aggressive enforcement of strong opinion; but one feels that her opinions have weight and authority. Her dignity and earnestness win respect, and she possesses that simplicity and absence of self-consciousness which are only possessed by one who has high standards.

In talking with Mrs. Fiske you feel as if you knew what her work would be—work permeated with intellect, yet full of spiritual beauty, sparkling with brilliancy of wit, irradiated with delicate, alluring humor, touched with the fire of imagination, instinct with tragic power, softened wit, true and tender feeling. In the woman herself is the artist. Her artistic method is the visible expression of a peculiarly rich mental and spiritual equipment.

And in the versatility of her work, its wide scope, we have an index to her character. No one whose nature was not many-sided, whose intellect was not broad as well as deep, and whose tastes were not cultivated in many directions could give us such versatile work in the drama.

Mrs. Fiske's life naturally divides itself into two parts. Her career before her retirement at the time of her marriage to Harrison Grey Fiske, and her career after she once more took up her dramatic work. The second period is, of course, the more important, because to it belong her memorable portrayal of Ibsen's Nora, and her three great impersonations of Tess, of Becky Sharp and of Mary of Magdala; but the power, the finish, the authority of her later work could not have been possible without the long and arduous training, the wide and varied experience, the strenuous industry of her youthful years. This early apprenticeship taught her the technique of her art, but it did more. It broadened her thinking, enlarged her capacities for feeling, deepened her powers of sympathy. She had fought, been con-



MRS. FISKE AS BECKY SHARP.

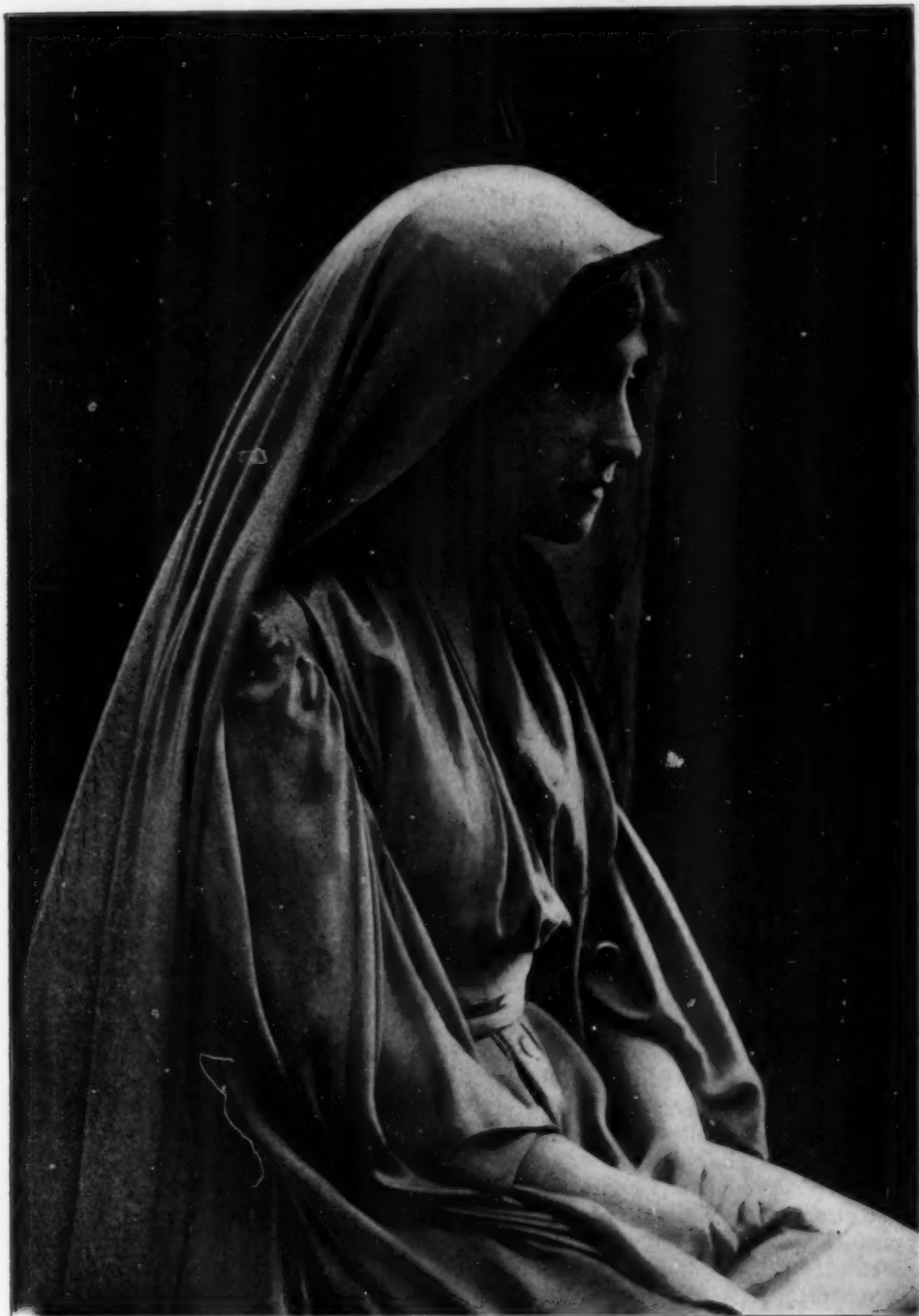


Photo. by Morrison, Chicago

MRS. FISKE, AS, MARY, OF MAGDALA.

quered, and had conquered. The experiences of her youth had enriched her life as well as her art, had been most fruitful in their ministry.

By inheritance as well as by training, Mrs. Fiske belongs to the mystic order of artists. Her mother's father, Richard Maddern, was an English musician who came to this country with a traveling company made up of his own children. Her mother played the first cornet and afterward became an actress. She married Thomas Davey, a well-known theatrical manager of the South and West. It was at New Orleans in 1867 that Mary Augusta Davey was born. The pretty story has been told of the little child's cradle being her mother's big trunk in her dressing-room. Mrs. Fiske says: "I wish I could give you some glimpses into the life of the child brought up from babyhood in in the theater. It is picturesque and in a way pathetic. Just think of the little child who from infancy up to twelve years of age has known nothing but the life behind the scenes! Then the unceasing going from place to place—it is a strange life for a child." Mrs. Fiske adds that she would like to write a story of the "theater child."

The little girl had certainly no natural childhood. Before she was three she was dressed in a tiny Scotch costume and sent out to sing Scotch songs and dance the Highland Fling. When only three she made her debut on the stage in the character of the Duke of York in "Richard III." Then followed a long period in which she acted many child's parts in standard plays: in "King John," "Macbeth," "Richelieu," "Rip Van Winkle," "Uncle Tom's Cabin," "Ten Nights in a Barroom," Boucicault's "Hunted Down," etc. She was the original "Little Fritz" with J. K. Emmett, was Louise in "The Two Orphans." With Barry Sullivan she was long associated, then was with Laura Keane, Mrs. Scott Siddons and E. L. Davenport. In old women's parts she was especially successful, when fourteen winning a triumph as the Widow Melnotte.

During these busy years of childhood and youth Minnie Maddern attended school at different convents at different periods. But she learned as much from life as from books. Her mind was active, she learned quickly, she was observing and receptive. Even at school she showed an inclination to write, and her school writings were made attractive by humor, for she has in large measure that most glorious gift of the Gods, the humorous temperament.

At the early age of fifteen Minnie Maddern appeared at the head of her own company. Such dramatic precocity is not common. Her first appearance as a star was on May 20, 1882. The play was "Fogg's Ferry." Then came "Caprice," one of her notable plays; "In Spite of All," in which she had the support of Richard Mansfield; and "Featherbrain," supported by Wilton Lackaye.

She was charming in these plays. She infused into them the spirit of youth, the blitheness and gayety of her own vivacious temperament, the warmth of her own sunny nature.

At the age of twenty-three she married Harrison Grey Fiske. For three years after her marriage she lived quietly, busy with her books and her writing. If Mrs. Fiske's genius had not by force of circumstance, heredity and environment found expression in acting, we might know her as novelist or poet, for an ardent, original mind like hers must find an outlet for its activity in some tangible form of gracious, benign art.

During these years of retirement she wrote several plays. "The Rose," played with success by the late Felix Morris and the Lyceum Company; "Not Guilty," accepted by the Kendals; "Fontenelle," played by James O'Neill; "Common Clay," a comedy of American life; several plays were written for the lamented Rosina Vokes; "Countess Roudine" was written in collaboration with Paul Kester. She also produced some clever translations and adaptations.

There is a strain of melancholy running



Photo, by Byron, New York.

"A DOLL'S HOUSE," ACT 1.

Mrs. Fiske

Max Figman.

through much of Mrs. Fiske's work, though it is whimsical, witty, sparkling with humor. "A Light from St. Agnes" deepens into the glooms of tragedy.

Puccini has the intention to take this play of Mrs. Fiske's as a basis for an opera—Roberto Bracco to write the libretto.

When in 1893 at a matinee for charity Mrs. Fiske consented to appear as Nora in Ibsen's "Doll's House," her success was so inspiring that it determined her return to the stage.

The beauty of Mrs. Fiske's portrayal of Nora will never be forgotten by any one who was fortunate enough to see her. It was remarkable for variety of shading, for tender, melancholy charm, for thorough identification with the character.

It was a living, breathing portrait, rendered with a masterly force and conviction. For in this rôle, as in Mrs. Fiske's later masterpieces, it was not the outward semblance which she represented with so much reality. She was indeed careful of all the little details of manner, gesture, facial expression. But she did more. She gave the mind, the very soul of the character. The spectator did not feel that he was witnessing "acting." He was in the presence of life.

In her first tour as "Mrs. Fiske" she used "A Doll's House," "Cæserine," "Divorçons" and "Marie Delroche." In her second season when she produced "Tess," she captured New York, established her footing unassailably.



MRS. FISKE IN "LOVE FINDS THE WAY."

In looking over a large mass of criticisms in regard to "Tess" we are impressed with the universal tribute of praise which was accorded Mrs. Fiske—the universal recognition of the power, the pathos, the beauty and the authority of her portrayal. She was called "America's pride," "our greatest actress," the "peer of Duse and Bernhardt"—in fact, the critics agreed that her interpretation of Tess was one of the highest and most artistic forms of emotional acting ever given on the American stage.

In this play Mrs. Fiske showed herself to be a master of suggestion, her artistic method taking as much account of the repression of emotion as to its powerful manifestation. Her methods were not familiar. As Edith Wharton said, she swept away a mass of superannuated conventions, and in the most direct and simple terms of which dramatic interpretation is capable she gave a superbly living presentation of Hardy's heroine.

Mrs. Fiske's "Becky," showing her genius in a totally different phase, was received with almost equal enthusiasm.

In "Mary of Magdala" her delivery of the poetical text was the revelation of a new vocal faculty. In "Tess" the matchless sincerity as well as music and pathos of her voice was what moved us so. Mrs. Fiske has a most beautiful voice, full of variety in shading and modulation, flexible, sympathetic. It is her theory that there is a different intonation for each different emotion. She can put tears into that voice. She can make it cut with sarcasm, become brittle and hard with restrained and intense passion; incisive, biting with cynical impatience. In "Mary of Magdala" she showed more fully than in any other play the nobility, the majesty, the passionate eloquence of her voice. Of late, Mrs. Fiske's rôles have called for what she thinks should be occasionally very rapid utterance. Sometimes the audience misses the full force of some of her brilliant speeches. Mrs. Fiske's every-day speech is beautifully cultivated, but it has not one trace of affectation either in pronunciation, enunciation or inflection. It is a voice which ought to please exacting English critics of the American voice.

After the notable success of "Tess," Mrs. Fiske appeared in "Love Finds the Way"—a play which contained an act of great and thrilling power, and it was superbly done. "A Bit of Old Chelsea" and "Little Italy" were one-act dramas which again vindicated Mrs. Fiske's versatility. In the Italian woman of Horace Fry's intense and vivid tragedy Mrs. Fiske's personality was wholly lost. In make-up, gesture, gait, she was the living, breathing character. She showed as fine and powerful art as one sees in a decade. The innocent flower-girl of London was a subtle contrast.

In her portrayal of Magda she went deep into the manifold phases of the character, was very effective in the representation of bitter scorn and satirical mockery, but was particularly happy in the denotement of the more buoyant and whimsical of Magda's moods. Mrs. Fiske's interpretation of the complex emotions of

the character far surpassed any interpretation given in America, before or since.

"Frou-Frou" gave Mrs. Fiske some fine opportunities to show her powers in repressed emotion. Her fine imagination, her genius for understanding the soul of a character and making it vital and real to the spectator, her spontaneity of style, her perfect technique made "Becky Sharp" a notable production, not only because of the graphic portraiture of the central character, but because of its historical fidelity, being a wonderful portraiture of manners, showing comprehensive knowledge, full of life and movement, of brightness, of keen satire and wit; and in every detail of absorbing interest. Mrs. Fiske's "Becky" will live in the annals of the stage as a portrayal of wonderful mastery and delicate skill.

"Becky Sharp" was followed by "Miranda of the Balcony," "The Unwelcome Mrs. Hatch," "Mary of Magdala" and "Hedda Gabler."

Mrs. Fiske's natural temperament is sunny. She has that sympathy with joy and brightness, that whimsical humor and sparkle of wit which make her a comedienne of the first rank. As we all know, the humorous temperament has also sympathy with and insight into the tragical. That is why Mrs. Fiske moves us so profoundly when she strikes the deep, tragic note. She plays upon our very heart-strings. It is the very truth of her own perception of the tragical that gives her this power over us. But in "Hedda Gabler" she does not strike this deep, poignant note. Her Hedda is an interesting study, but it is not a spontaneous and natural expression of her genius,—there is nothing in it to move the heart or liberate the mind.

In 1905 Mrs. Fiske produced "Leah Kleschna" and a one act play of much value called "Dolce." After two seasons of great success with "Leah" she produced "The New York Idea."

In reviewing this long list of plays, we are struck with the fact that they are as

a rule modern. She has never been a Desdemona, a Rosalind, a Lady Macbeth, an Imogen, a Beatrice or a Katherine. But she could be successful in all these. Her Nora, her Tess, her Becky, her Mary will be remembered with admiration and gratitude. These impersonations would be difficult to equal or to surpass. Nevertheless it is a cause for regret that many of Mrs. Fiske's plays do not call into action her highest powers. She always gives the thoughtful spectator the impression that she has an immense fund of reserved strength, that there is scarcely any character which she could not fit herself to portray if she were willing to spend upon it the fullness of her intellectual and emotional equipment. She is young yet and the future may hold rôles for her which will give to her lovely and gracious art its richest and most satisfying expression. She says that she is "hopelessly and intensely modern" in her tastes. Certainly she is most sympathetic to all the new ideas, recognizes the trend of modern art, that there is a great future for the drama of



MRS FISKE IN "DIVORCONS.



MRS. FISKE IN "A BIT OF OLD CHELSEA."

ideas; but she also recognizes that an extreme devotion to the intellectual may paralyze the expression of those large human emotions which are the richest material of dramatic art.

It was because the last act of "The New York Idea" appealed to universal human sympathy that this brilliant, clever play was received so enthusiastically by the public. In this Mrs. Fiske returned to her earlier manner of bright and sparkling comedy, that comedy with its masterly deft and delicate touches, its swift transitions. "She changes her mood as lightly, with as little effort as a cloud-flecked summer sky, merriment at the memory of past happiness is never far away, and tears are ever following in the wake of smiles." The final moments of reconciliation, of restoration of lost happiness are very beautiful and touching.

We all must acknowledge that Ibsen is a force to be reckoned with. We cannot ignore his revolutionizing power nor make light of his influence. Mrs. Fiske is no worshiper of Ibsen as a moral philosopher, but she admires his powers

as a craftsman and builder of plays. She deplores the fact that his "wonderful gifts are not enlisted on behalf of the beautiful and the noble things of life." For as she herself says art is of no real consequence unless it is the messenger of spiritual hope, unless it reveals the things that lift humanity.

In her opinion Ibsen at his worst is better than the inanity of the average modern dramatist.

"But the plays I would like to play best I fear have not yet been written. I don't like the morbid in the drama, but, unfortunately, the better of the modern plays are morbid. A good play is difficult to find—a play that embodies good literature and technical excellence. My favorite play is 'As You Like It.' The philosophy of the banished duke is a delight. And into this play Shakespeare has put so many exquisite things; it moves in so spiritual an atmosphere."

In Mrs. Fiske's Harvard address she gave interesting expression to her views in regard to the ethics, the craftsmanship and the requirements of dramatic art. This address and others which she has delivered in the course of the last few years, show that she has a prose style of much felicity, and that if she had time to devote to it she would do able literary work in the essay form.

Oh! that a great dramatist might arise in America to fit this woman with a rôle that is worthy of her! A rôle which will furnish scope for the loveliest phases of her most lovely art.

She intends to produce "Rosmersholm," which she considers the best of Ibsen's plays. One awaits with interest her interpretation of the modern Lady Macbeth. Her future may "copy fair her past," but the "thrill and the art" of her most masterly and skilful interpretations which have passed into history may be difficult to match.*

*Since this article was written, Mrs. Fiske has produced Rosmersholm at the Lyric Theater, New York. Her Rebecca West will rank in dramatic history as one of the great interpretations. It has a peculiar, fascinating and moving power. It is a masterpiece

But it is not alone the personal work of Minnie Maddern Fiske which must be taken into consideration in order to arrive at an estimate of what she has done for the American Drama. It is her influence upon others: her work as a stage manager, as a director of her company.

She was among the first, perhaps the first, to anticipate the "play of the future": that which is to be not the star piece, but the play for an entire company. Her whole aim has been to give a full, well-rounded, polished performance in which every member of her company has been trained adequately and thoroughly, in which she herself does not shine at the expense of anyone else. Her work has been a most unselfish devotion to symmetry, and how well she has succeeded is attested by the unsurpassable brilliancy and polish of the work of the many sterling artists who have supported her. She has indeed the faculty for leadership, for organization; patience in working out details, quickness of observation, indomitable energy and will-power. Added to this intellectual equipment is the stimulating power over her comrades, so that she brings out the best that is in them. She has that broad and clear vision which makes her wise in her appraisal of the work of others; she is generous of her praise, yet firm in her government.

Those who work under Mrs. Fiske are animated by affection for her. From her youth she has had the power to win loyalty and affection, for she possesses that

"Subtle grace of heart and mind
That flows with tactful sympathy."

Mr. Wilfrid North has given me some interesting details in regard to Mrs. Fiske's methods in drilling her companies. It is at rehearsal, he says, that her genius shines with far greater brilliancy than at any other time. Before an audience she gives but one interpretation, but at rehearsal she plays every part in the play—suggesting to the

more capable members of her company an altered reading or a piece of stage business that illumines the lines, but where she finds originality, she gives full opportunity for its display. When she finds any individual rôle deficient, she "works and strives and drills till she obtains the effect desired." The most subtle part of Mrs. Fiske's work at rehearsals is the masterly way in which she "evolves harmony"—for it is Mrs. Fiske's theory that a play should be as harmonious as a symphony. A well-made drama has its arias, its cadences, its solos, its chorus. Then, too, the actors as well as their work must be in harmony, there must be no friction, no individual jealousy, no jarring tones used in the theater. Her own dignity and courtesy furnish a fine example to all her subordinates. "I never wondered," says Mr. North, "when I heard comments passed upon the excellence of Mrs. Fiske's performances, because I knew the harmony the master-mind demanded from her players, from the orchestra, from the



MRS. FISKE AS HEDDA GABLER.



MRS. FISKE AS GUILIA IN "LITTLE ITALY."

stage hands, and from her corps of assistants, must produce upon the minds of her audience the great perfect note of completeness she strived for and attained."

The famous ball-room scene in "Becky Sharp"; the wonderful effect of the attack upon Mary of Magdala by the fanatic Jews; the drawing-room scene in "Miranda of the Balcony" prove that Mrs. Fiske has as much skill in the management of large numbers of subordinate actors as well as in drilling the more prominent members of her companies.

It is much to be regretted that owing to certain unfortunate methods in dramatic criticism in New York, Mrs. Fiske has abandoned her plan to establish a permanent stock company for the production of plays by unknown authors as well as for her regular productions.

This plan would be of incalculable value to American art; American authors would not only get a hearing but they would have the benefit of the criticisms of a woman of wide experience in stage

management, of discriminating literary judgment, of fine and catholic tastes. It would also be very helpful in the establishment of a national drama.

There is no one in America so able, so well-equipped as Mrs. Fiske to be at the head of a National Theater, but she is unfortunately handicapped by being a woman!

About ten years ago Mrs. Fiske was in the thick of the fight against the Theatrical Trust. Among all the leading actors of America she has stood practically alone in this struggle to maintain the freedom of art; to emancipate it from the tyranny of the commercial spirit.

Mrs. Fiske has been unflinching in her determination to maintain her independence, and by her brave attitude she has won the respect of every one whose opinion is to be valued, and the very annoyances and hardships which hampered her tours have made her success all the more admirable

Many dramatic critics have been bound hand and foot by subservience to the



MRS. FISKE IN "DOLCE."

Theatrical Trust. From them, Mrs. Fiske has had occasionally to endure criticism which was neither sincere nor honest; worse than that her work has sometimes been ignored, while productions of far less dramatic value have been praised at length.

Of late years, Mrs. Fiske has conquered the good-will and admiration of every critic of any standing and scholarship, and her struggles with the "Trust" are practically a thing of the past.

Her refusal to give up her independence has been of great help to the rank and file of the profession. Indeed, her whole influence has been potent in awakening other actors to a sense of the dignity and responsibility of their work.

When Mrs. Fiske owned the Manhattan Theater, New York, her plays had long runs there. She drew to the theater the most cultivated, the most thoughtful people. As it is in the "entire unobtrusiveness of her art" that Mrs. Fiske's great art lies, those people who are so dull that they cannot appreciate her *finesse* depress and affect her unfavorably; as she appeals most strongly to the trained artistic sense, those among her audience who have cultivated this sense are to her an inspiration, putting her on her mettle and bringing out the best that is in her.

In nature as well as in books Mrs. Fiske finds relief from the strenuous work of her professional life. She has spent many of her vacations in the Adirondacks; but of all America she likes best California and the extreme Northwest. She is very fond of Italy, particularly the old places surrounding Naples. But of all places in Europe she prefers the old medieval town of Rothenberg, not far from Munich. It is a little town of towers, battlements and turrets, that rests quietly in the hills exactly as it was hundreds of years ago.

Mrs. Fiske has had little time to broaden out her social relationships, and yet she has many interests and activities aside from her work on the

stage. The art of the theater is not to her of supreme importance. "Art," she says, "seems often very little when contrasted with the actualities that surround us." She is a student of literature, but even more eagerly a student of life, and as the years pass, her observation of the suffering and misery of the world deepens her earnestness and seriousness of thought. "The contemplation of man's inhumanity to man often taxes one's credulity," she says, "but there is one thing more monstrous,—that is his almost complete inability to perceive or understand his duty towards the dumb beasts of the earth who are placed at his mercy." Ever since she was able to think, the suffering of dumb animals at the hand of man has seemed to her the most terrible fact of life, and the work to improve their condition the most worthy of her devotion. Her work has not alone been the giving of money in abundance, but it is one of organization, and with all the earnestness of her nature, the force of her eloquent logic she has used her influence against the abuse of



"MRS. FISKE" AS LEAH KLESCHNA.

vivisection; against the cruelties of transportation, the cruelties of trapping, and against what she calls the darkest stain on our American civilization—the treatment of the cattle on the great ranges. She has collected a mass of information, much of it from personal observation, and all the weight of her influence is being used to stop or lessen the cruelty and dishonesty practiced by the owners of the vast herds that roam the wide plains of the West. She is working to induce Congress to pass laws to better the deplorable state of affairs which she describes with painful and vivid minuteness. She is doing much to enlighten the people of the West, and to stir up public sentiment.

The Humane Organization recently established in Mexico has also engaged her sympathy. She has spoken fearlessly and to the point against the bull-fights practiced there. Then the countless cruelties practiced upon the streets of

Naples and Rome have aroused her indignation, and this has resulted in practical work to change these painful conditions.

It is Mrs. Fiske's creed that we should all be *unresting apostles of discontent until man's cruelty to man and man's cruelty to dumb animals is obliterated*. In this effort to make her own discontent of practical use, Mrs. Fiske finds much happiness. "I do not see," she says, "how the achieving of success as an artist can give complete and permanent happiness to an intelligent human being."

Ten years ago Mrs. Fiske said: "Till we have suffered we can never do very good work. To be a great actor one must have had a wide experience in suffering." Certainly her own work in the behalf of dumb sufferers of the world has enlarged her own sympathies, broadened out her own nature. It will inevitably react on her art and widen its scope.

When I asked Madame Modjeska her opinion in regard to Mrs. Fiske, she replied: "She is one of the most intellectual artists on the American stage and I always see her with delight." She spoke of her as remarkable, and gave especial and enthusiastic praise to her "Tess."

Now that Richard Mansfield is gone, our hopes rest upon Mrs. Fiske. She has a great responsibility and a great privilege.

Let me close with these words from William Winter:

"Mrs. Fiske is one of the most intellectual women upon our stage, and her dignity of mind, strength of character, and inflexible stability of worthy purpose make her an object of unusual interest, and have gained for her the respect and admiration of all persons who wish for the prosperity of a respectable, useful and influential stage."

KENYON WEST.

New York.



MRS. FISKE AS CYNTHIA IN "THE NEW YORK IDEA."

THE PROBABLE SELF-DESTRUCTION OF THE TRUST.

BY PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

IN AN article under the head of: "The Sweep of Economic Events in the light of History," in the August number of *THE ARENA*, I said: "Every phase in the political or economic development of society contains the elements of self-destruction. Every social, political or economic system will in the course of its development reach a point where the elements of self-destruction commence to move and show their presence. From this on the system will gradually be undermined and slowly collapse by its own force. From this on the effect of its own force becomes inimical to its own purposes and a hindrance to its further development."

To show the truth of this theory I illustrated it by describing the outgoing of the guild system and the incoming of the competitive system, and also the present gradual decline of the competitive system and its making way for the combination and concentration in industry, commerce and transportation, or that which is commonly called Trust.

If what I then said is true, I think it should be possible to point out the elements of self-destruction in the Trusts, and their probable movements and manifestations, because the Trust has, in my opinion, advanced in its course of development to the point at which these elements must show their presence and activity.

It is the object of the following lines to show that the course of the Trust is self-destructive and that it cannot deviate from this course and escape destruction, though it is constantly endeavoring to do so.

If it were possible for any combination to cover the whole industry, it would, of course, so far as that industry is concerned, eliminate entirely the influence of supply and demand; in other words, abolish the market, as a price maker. But no combination is able to do that. Even the

Standard Oil Company does not cover the whole domestic field, not to speak of foreign countries. Its life depends upon the killing of all competition. This, it can never completely do, and it must continually fight for its own life. At the same time its efforts to absorb rival concerns have the effect of creating new ones. The large profits lead to the establishment of rival concerns, sometimes for the only purpose of compelling the combination to acquire the new establishment at an enormous price, for absorption is mostly less expensive than destruction.

It is impossible for the combination to leave rival concerns undisturbed. If it would allow them to grow and expand, it would not any longer be able to control the market and reap enormous profits which is the object of its existence. It would itself become merely one of a number of competing rival concerns, but not a trust, not a powerful, controlling combination. To continue as such it cannot allow the existence of rival concerns but must destroy or absorb them in one way or the other.

This is even the case where the combination has reached the highest state of development, that of the one large corporation, as the Standard Oil Company, the United States Steel Corporation, etc.

In its course from mere trade agreements between a number of independent firms to their consolidation into one large corporation and by process of destruction and absorption the combination drives many independent business men out of business and unquestionably reduces the consuming capacity of a part of them.

In its efforts to control the business in all its stages and to reap every possible profit that is in it, it is one of the policies of the combination to eliminate as far as possible the middle man. It sells directly to

the retailer, and the wholesaler and jobber are gradually disappearing. But some of them, as, for instance, the Standard Oil Company and the Tobacco Trust, go even further and eliminate the retailer, by either peddling their goods or monopolizing the retail business. Thus it destroys the sources of income for hundreds of thousands of people and reduces their consuming capacity.

Combination reduces the number of necessary employees, in the shop as well as in the office, but more particularly the number of those employed in selling goods. The drummer, for instance, so necessary an individual under a system of competition, becomes unnecessary under a system of combination. If the buyer has no choice it is not necessary to make efforts to win him. Thus, combination reduces or destroys altogether sources of employment and again reduces the consuming power of hundreds of thousands.

It is, of course, one of the principal objects of the trust to control and fix prices, and to drive them as high as conditions permit, with a view of making the largest possible profit. The consequence, naturally, is an increase of the cost of living. Increase of living expenses is always one of the causes which call forth energetic efforts on the part of the labor-organization to obtain better wages, so as to prevent a sinking of their standard of life. It stands to reason that the combination is able to resist these efforts with much greater strength than a number of individual competing concerns, and the Trust is, generally, strong enough to secure a proportionately higher rise of prices than of wages. That this again reduces the consumptive power of the people needs no explanation.

In my former article I explained combination as forming an element of progress in so far as it is a means of increasing the power of production. Now I have shown that the methods which the combination uses, and which it is bound to use result in a reduction of the power of consumption.

It is evident that this is a self-destroying course, but none other is open to the Trust. If the power of production constantly grows, or even if it remains stationary, while the power of consumption diminishes, a point must eventually be reached when production becomes useless or unremunerative, and must be stopped or suspended. A reduction of the consumptive power prevents the full use of the productive power, but as production and profit-making is the object and purpose of the Trust, it must in the end become a hindrance to production and its methods inimical to its own purposes.

Nevertheless the Trust cannot deviate from this course without destroying itself more rapidly; because this course is necessary to prevent competition, and deviation from it would mean the return of competition, and competition and combination are, of course, antagonistic and cannot exist together.

Therefore, in order to avoid the results of the reduction of the consumptive power of the people, and to prevent the calamity of stopping production, or reducing productive capacity, the combination is compelled, or will be compelled, to seek foreign markets. But here it meets the competition of other nations. To meet this effectually and also to ward off the competition of foreign industry at home, it needs tariff-protection which enables it to sell at high prices at home and to dump upon foreign markets the surplus of its products, which the home market is not able to absorb, at much lower prices, sometimes even at a loss.

Of course, the throwing of goods upon foreign markets at very low prices is not possible without high prices at home. But, as said before, the high prices and big profits are dangerous to the combination because they form a stimulus for new enterprises. Thus a ring is formed through which the combination is unable to break, and a condition is created which the combination is powerless to change.

The foreign markets must necessarily, in course of time, become satiated; the subjugated islands or colonies, generally

in tropical countries, and inhabited by barbarous, or semi-barbarous people have no great consumptive power, and even the tariff cannot prevent the arrival at a stage where the consumptive power remains so far behind the productive power that the system must completely break down.

That moment has, of course, not yet arrived, and protective import duties are still the most useful means of protection for the combinations. To influence tariff legislation, or, as the case may be, to prevent it, is, therefore, a necessity for the combination.

But not this alone. Its methods are such that they must necessarily arouse enmity and opposition and a widespread and popular demand for legislation against it. To prevent such legislation, or to keep it, at least, within certain bounds, becomes necessary for the life of the Trust.

Laws require enforcement to become effective, and their interpretation is in the hands of the judiciary. It is not necessary to describe the part which politics play in the making, the interpretation and the enforcement of the laws, all of it lying in the hands of officers nominated by their parties and elected by the people. To control, or influence these public functions requires political power. The Trust must control or at least influence legislation, the application and the enforcement, and to a certain extent the construction, of the laws. This is indispensibly necessary for success in its struggle for existence. The exercise of political power with whatever means that are at its command, be they good or evil are an unavoidable element of the warfare of the trust or combination. The selection of the means depends only on the form of government and the political institutions of the country.

Here now is the point where the more or less rational, systematic and wilful action of man comes in. The Trust, or combination being politically active becomes itself the subject of politics.

Its effect on the distribution of wealth, the concentration of wealth in constantly growing and gigantic proportions in the hands of comparatively few, who become more and more conspicuous as a class, must necessarily awaken and strengthen class-consciousness and class-feeling, and those of common class-interests will more and more rally together in political parties which represent their class-interests, and the political fight will, with growing clearness and distinctness and increasing consciousness, become a class-fight.

In a certain sense the political fight is always a class-fight, but as long as the masses are not conscious of that fact, its effect is always favorable to the possessing and ruling class. But when the people consciously organize themselves into class-parties, then the results will commence to turn against the dominant class. In the end the ruling class will be vanquished, and the system by which it exploits and rules the other class will be destroyed.

Modern governments are governments of and for the bourgeoisie, the class which makes and owns the Trusts. It makes little difference whether the chief of the nation has inherited his throne or has been put into it by election. The bourgeois class rules and as long as it rules, the Trust has to fear nobody but itself. Eighteen years ago the Sherman Anti-Trust Law was passed. It has not harmed even a Baby-Trust, not even scratched one. It has caused some changes in the form of organization, it has strained the ingenuity of lawyers in making and finding snares and loopholes, but it has not done more and never will do more. Yes, it may. It may some day be used by a desperate bourgeoisie to destroy labor organizations, for there is no great legal difficulty in applying it to them. In the eyes of the law, labor force is property. It is bought and sold. It is a commodity. Is it difficult to declare a combination for the purpose of obtaining higher wages a conspiracy to influence prices, to

monopolize a commodity, to destroy competition in labor?

The war apparently waged against the Trusts in the halls of Congress and State legislatures will never kill it, and is not intended to kill it.

It is waged by the poorer part of the bourgeoisie which is in danger of being crushed by the other part. Or it is waged between, the different interests of different parts of the bourgeoisie: industry, commerce, transportation, finance.

The laboring class has little or no interest in discriminating freight rates or passenger rates. It neither travels nor ships much.

Pure food law? If the bourgeois were not in danger of being poisoned, he would no more care for the laborer being poisoned, than he cares for the laborer being killed in the mine.

But the time is not far when the large mass of the people will become conscious of their class-existence. Then the real fight will begin, but not before that. It will not end in the restoration of competition with the consequent repetition of past evils, but in turning over the Trusts to the uses of the people.

PHILIP RAPPAPORT.

Washington, D. C.

THE RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR DISTINGUISHED.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

[*Editorial Note:* THE ARENA has recently published papers setting forth the religious views of liberal orthodox churchmen who hold to what is known as the higher criticism, in the contributions by Dr. Crapsey and Rev. A. R. Kieffer. Those of conservative churchmen have been admirably presented by Rev. William R. Bushby. The teachings of Christian Science have been presented by W. D. McCrackan and philosophical opinions against and for Christian Science have been discussed by Edward C. Farnsworth and John B. Willis. In the following paper we present a contribution on "The Essence of Religion" from the rationalistic view-point. It has been prepared by Mr. Theodore Schroeder, one of the strongest and clearest reasoners among the radical thinkers. Personally we do not think Mr. Schroeder's stand is well taken in regard to God,—at least we think that his illustrations are in some instances unfortunate in that they do not fairly represent the views of those with whom he is dealing. If the writer had limited his conception of God to that of an anthropomorphic being, he would have been justified in classing the Brahmins, the Christian Scientists, and for that matter, the master-thinkers among liberal evolutionary Christians of the present day, as not believing in such a God. But the anthropomorphic concept of God is by no means the only concept, and indeed, in the Christian world it is doubtless true that this old-time idea is rapidly giving place to the concept of a God that is all-pervading Life and the supreme embodiment of those attributes which are instinct in the fullest and noblest forms of life of which we have any conception. Now to the Brahmin, who believes that the universe is one vast, throbbing

entity and that man in his cycles of existence is merely moving onward and upward through a series of dream-lives, being purified and refined until at last he is at one with the great source of life and being, Brahms is Deity, quite as much as the God of the old colored man who conceived Him to be a great black man sitting on a gold throne with a long gold stick in His hand. Likewise the great evolutionary school of liberal Christian thinkers to-day who hold with the ancient poet that God is everywhere, are none the less believers in Deity than the peasant whose conception of God is that of a magnified man. So also with the Christian Scientists. Their conception of God is that of all-pervading conscious energy—the sum total of intelligence, of life, of love, of truth, so perfect in manifestation of each of these that it is proper to characterize Deity as the incarnation of each attribute, whether it be truth, or love, or intelligence. It is doubtful whether Deity is so real to any modern body of religious believers as He is to the Christian Scientists.

We are not arguing for any special concept of Deity, but stating facts which it seems to us in fairness should be stated in this connection. Much of the misunderstanding and intellectual warfare over religious, philosophical and various other theories that have commanded the attention of thinkers, has arisen from writers employing terms in such a way that their scope is more limited than the terms warrant, or by their giving to terms a special meaning which is not the meaning that the same term conveys to other minds. To us it seems clear that the Brahmin, the liberal evolutionary Christian and the Christian Scientist believe in Deity quite as profoundly as those who hold to the

anthropomorphic idea of God. In regard to the latter, perhaps the best answer to Mr. Schroeder's claim that Christian Scientists do not worship God, is found in the following extract from *Science and Health*, in which Mrs. Eddy gives in a brief compass the teachings of Christian Science:

"1. As adherents of Truth, we take the inspired Word of the Bible as our sufficient guide to eternal Life.

"2. We acknowledge and adore one supreme and infinite God. We acknowledge His Son, one Christ; the Holy Ghost or divine Comforter; and man in God's image and likeness.

"3. We acknowledge God's forgiveness of sin in the destruction of sin and the spiritual understanding that evil is unreal, hence not eternal. But the belief in sin is punished so long as the belief lasts.

"4. We acknowledge Jesus' atonement as the evidence of divine, efficacious Love, unfolding man's unity with God through Christ Jesus the Way-shower; and we acknowledge that man is saved through Christ, through Truth, Life and Love as demonstrated by the Galilean Prophet in healing the sick and overcoming sin and death.

"5. We acknowledge that the crucifixion of Jesus and his resurrection served to uplift faith and understanding to perceive eternal Life, even the allness of Spirit and the nothingness of matter.

"6. And we solemnly promise to strive, watch and pray for that Mind to be in us which was also in Christ Jesus; to love one another; and to be meek, merciful, just, and pure." (*Science and Health*, page 497.)

Editor of THE ARENA.]

ONLY very stupid persons would assume that everything can be made a matter of religion merely by calling it religion, or that everything is religious which is so labeled. The moral quacks, vendors of reform cure-alls, the sociological astrologer, the political theologaster, as well as the mystic degenerate, usually appropriate the religious trademark, thinking thereby to secure for themselves a "respectable" rating, and for their wares a more ready market.

Since we cannot find the essence of religion where religion is not, it follows that we must exclude from our study all of the foregoing classes, and those numerous others who exercise only the parrot-like function of imitating such as are truly religious.

We must also exclude from consideration those well-meaning persons who for want of clear vision, and the consequent inherent timidity of conscious weakness, carefully plan their intellectual destination along the line of least resistance, because it is easiest. These gather a large following by their superficially plausible, and intellectually dishonest use of words with which they appear to harmonize religion and science. These weaklings of science and weaklings of religion, and their following of pseudo-scientists and pseudo-religionists, have made dust enough almost to obliterate the essential difference of source of authority, of method, of scope and of

aim, which must ever separate real science from real religion. Partially to restore this line of partition for the small thinking portion of the public is the mission of this essay.

Here we are not concerned with the difference between true and false religion, nor with the success or failure in the attainment of religious ideals. What we seek to discover is those characteristics, the absence of which is the negation of all religion either true or false, and the presence of which distinguishes even the errors of false religion from secular error.

Unquestionably, religious men, often even in the name of religion duplicate every crime committed by others. The religious profess convictions which others may also profess, both with and without honesty. The religious perform ceremonies which others also perform with joy to themselves. In common with the non-religious persons they entertain opinions and hopes, all of which some other religious persons repudiate. From these facts of common knowledge we must conclude that the religious man cannot be differentiated from the non-religious by any indispensable conduct, credal statement, or aspect of the outer world. None of these things are essential to religion as such, though any of them may be, and almost everything has been, deemed indispensable to some particular religion. We can make this a little clearer by a few concrete illustrations, of

the most conspicuous non-essentials of religion.

BELIEF IN GOD A NON-ESSENTIAL.

Belief in God or gods is not an indispensable element of religion. Buddhists are unquestionably religious, yet admittedly believe in no God. It is doing violence to language to say that the founder of "Christian Science" believes in a God, when she writes, "the allness of mind and the nothingness of matter," and "God is love and love is God," it is because, for the moment, as one under the influence of an opiate or in a trance, she has suspended relations with the non-ego, and therefore denies the existence of objective realities. She is without a God-concept, and without a belief in an unknowable reality, as an objective stimulus of her religious sentiments. She apotheosizes only love-emotion, not a concept, nor an objectivity. Her efforts at describing her emotional states in terms of objectives, lead her unavoidably into that verbal fantasticism, which so successfully eludes all our efforts at translation into concepts, not mutually destructive.

No proper use of the word "God" in any literal sense will allow the assertion that Mrs. Eddy believes in a God. She has a subjective condition which she describes figuratively as God-like; it is an emotional substitute for the God-concept of others and not a "feeling background" for it. Yet we cannot deny her religiosity. In one aspect, she is even more religious than many of her contemporaries, since she—more than they—exemplifies the truth that "the kingdom of God is within you," is subjective.

Berkeley's idealism was the product of an analysis of consciousness, an inquiry into the existence of an objective cause for our concepts, with a view to determining the sufficiency of the warrant for our belief in the existence of objective realities. Not so with Mrs. Eddy. She scorns "the erring testimony of mortal

sense," and an analysis of it is beneath her. She has no need of its help, for "By our faith are we justified." Berkeley's idealism was reached by the more or less accurate use of the scientific method and was the expression of a belief within the domain of science or philosophy. Mrs. Eddy's idealism, without even a pretense of scientific processes, is the mere misinterpretation of subjective emotional states, the apotheosis of love-emotion. Her idealism is religious.

Likewise the Brahmin has nothing which can properly be called a God. What we carelessly designate his God, is, in fact, but a substitute. He calls it: "The highest self," which again shows its subjective origin. The Vedantist believes in a self within the person, which is the carrier of his personality, and a self without a person, which is the carrier of the world, "God the highest self,—and these two selves are ultimately the same self." In its adaptation to modern mystic cults, man sometimes comes to be described as "a conscious center of the all-mind," etc.

The religio-idealistic speculations are but different explanations of the same subjective states—love-emotions—which accompany and induce the thought of God, with those who religiously believe in God. It is this wholly subjective source for the presence or absence of a belief in God, and the longing to put one's self into agreeable relations with him, or His substitute, an infinite self, which distinguishes the religious from its corresponding scientific or philosophical belief.

SCIENTIFIC BELIEF IN GOD.

Since belief in God is not an indispensable phenomenon of religion it follows that mere belief in God cannot constitute one a religious person. When a scientist using the materials and methods of the physical sciences reached the conclusion of Professor Hückel that there is no God, he is not engaged

in religious exercises. He simply has a more or less logical conclusion within the domain of science about a religious subject-matter. If by using similar materials and the same scientific method he reaches a contrary conclusion, as did the Duke of Argyle, this still is not religion, and again he has only a more or less logical conclusion within the domain of science about a religious subject-matter. This is no more a matter of religion than belief in the multiplication table.

The methods and generalizations of science may verify or modify our religious convictions, but standing alone, are not, and cannot initiate religion. Something must be super-added or precede a scientific process or conclusion, before it becomes religion.

The Rev. Jonathan Edwards announces the same conclusion in these words: "He that has doctrinal knowledge and speculation only without affection, never is engaged in the business of religion." The Rev. G. W. Allen points out his conception of the difference between the religionists' and scientists' attitude toward the idea of God, by the following words: "Can a man by searching find out God? The presumed answer is 'No.' Mark now the different attitude with regard to this answer, taken by the materialist, the mystic, and him who stands between the two, the intellectual theologian. The materialist says at once, 'Then let us devote our efforts to what we can find out.' The intellectual theologian says, 'If we cannot find God, we can perhaps find out something about Him.' The mystic says, 'If I cannot find God, perhaps God can find me.'"

This again makes plain the fact that belief in God is not of the essence of religion because such belief to be religious must have the subjective warrant of an "indwelling God," without which it is a mere conclusion of science.

IMMORTALITY NON-ESSENTIAL.

One need but examine some historic

religions to know that belief in an individual post-mortem "spiritual" existence is not an indispensable element of religion. The Buddhist is a demonstration. He believes only in Nirvana. There is a state of blissful repose, which the Hindoo devotee realizes when, through the prescribed discipline of his religion, he has extinguished Karma, or the principle of individual existence within him, and has thereby obtained deliverance from the doom of the Samsara, or unending temporal cycle of deaths and reincarnations. Nirvana in its primary meaning has no temporal reference, and hence is not a state to be attained only after death. The whole world of individuality, including death, is a sphere of Maia or illusion; hence, Nirvana is but a cessation of the useless striving after individual existence.

Vedantism, whose most distinguished European disciple was Professor Max Müller, also proves the point. According to this doctrine of Brahmanism, death is but the merger of self into the "all-self." Very similar to this are several familiar Western mystic cults recently organized, according to which death is an absorption into "the all-mind," etc. These, of course, are each but an idealistic counterpart to the materialistic view that death ends all, which latter with equal accuracy could be described as a dissolution of the physical body into the "all-matter." The former is based upon a denial of the reality of matter, the latter upon a denial of every existence except matter.

The Samaritans held with the Sadducees, that there was no resurrection nor life eternal. Wu Ting-Fang, the Chinese Ambassador to the United States, says: "It must not be said that Confucius denies the existence of these things [relating to the immortality of the soul], but regards all speculation upon them as useless and impracticable. He would be called an agnostic in these days. 'What is death?' asked a disciple of him; and he replied, 'You do n't

know life yet, how can you know about death?"

"The fact is that only in Christendom and Islam is the essential immortality of the individual spirit assumed. To the contention that belief in eternal life has been held always and everywhere and by all men, the only reply is that the facts are not so."

If belief in a spiritual life, after physical death, is not an indispensable prerequisite to religion, it follows that the affirmation of such belief, standing alone cannot constitute one a religious person. We may apply purely scientific methods to the testimony of others (spiritualists, for example), or to the facts of the physical universe, and reach the conclusion (more or less logically) that there is such a post-mortem life. But that conviction, thus reached, is a conclusion within the domain of science or philosophy, not a conviction of religion. It is a scientific conviction upon a religious subject of contemplation; it is not religion. As well might one say that a table of logarithms, or the statement of the law of gravity, presents a religious conviction, simply because innumerable religious persons believe them to be true and useful. Belief in a future existence must be classified as secular or religious, according to its source—its reason for being.

This same method of analysis can be applied to every article of every religious creed, and no matter how essential any dogma may be to some particular religion, it will always clearly appear not to be of the essence of religion in general.

RELIGION ALWAYS NON-SCIENTIFIC.

Strauss somewhere says, that: "None but a book-student could ever imagine that a creation of the brain, woven of poetry and philosophy, can take the place of religion." To demonstrate this, we have only to substitute for the familiar terms of personal piety, which speak of the "human soul" and a humanly responsive "God," any of their

modern scientific equivalents, when the metaphysics are discharged.

Will the Benedicite swell with the same tones of joy when it has sung, "Bless the Eternal Law, all ye its works, Bless the Eternal Law, O my synthesis of organs": Will the contrition which now cries, "A broken heart thou dost not despise," pour out its sorrows to a deaf ideal, and shed its passionate tears on an abstraction that cannot wipe them away? Will any moonlit form be seen kneeling in our Gethsemanes, and rise from prostrate anguish to sublime repose through the prayer, "O, Thou Eternal, not ourselves that makes for righteousness, if it be possible, let the cup pass from me; nevertheless, not as I will, but as Thou wilt." Will any crucified one lose the bitterness of death in crying: "Oh, stream of tendency, into thy hands I commit my synthesis of mind"? And to the martyr, stoned to death, will the "Religion of Monism" offer any satisfactory heavenly vision of celestial reward, when he exclaims: "Great Eusamble of Humanity receive me!"

These illustrations can hardly leave any doubt upon the question that no religion can ever be constructed upon any mere scientific abstractions or generalizations. It might be contended that a clear and unified view of the Universe will some day remove in individuals the necessity for a religion, but it can never perform religious functions for those in whose nature religion is still a necessity.

It is the scientists who have most often sinned in the matter of unwarrantedly coupling religion with science, as a means, perhaps unconsciously employed, of retaining for themselves and their convictions, classification with "respectable" orthodoxy, such as could not be otherwise attained. Thus we have innumerable cults designated by such titles, as "The Religion of Science," "Cosmic Religion," "Monistic Religion," "The Religion of Nature," "The Religion of Ethics," and "The Religion of Humanity," etc., etc.

Space limits will not permit me to indulge in an exhaustive analysis of religious essence, but enough has been said, I believe, to warrant my indicating the following conclusions as to the essential difference between religious and scientific or secular factors.

In religion the source of authority for its beliefs and activities is subjective experiences believed not to be dependent for their existence upon material objective stimuli. To describe these subjective processes for the acquisition of religious knowledge such phrases are used as *an act of faith, an assurance of the heart, the inward miracle of grace, and the inward monitions of the spirit.*

Science, on the contrary, deals only in objectives, and in our relation with them finds its only source of knowledge. Even when psychic phenomena are being studied the scientist must consider the mental phenomena objectively.

From this difference in the source of religious and scientific knowledge, comes an unavoidable difference of method to be pursued for the acquisition of their respective truths. The religionist resorts to faith, to prayer, to spiritual exercises, to silent communion with unseeable powers, superhuman intelligences, or extra-physical personages, as a means of securing those subjective experiences from which "he knows because he feels, and is firmly convinced because strongly agitated." The scientist on the contrary can sum up his method in an application of the processes of synthesis and analysis to our human experiences with our material environments.

From these differences of source and method comes also a difference of aim. The scientist is concerned with the laws of nature, under which are included not merely things and their forces, but men and their ways, to the end that human happiness here and now may be increased by a more perfect adjustment to the conditions of our present material well-

being. On the other hand, religion is primarily concerned with the laws of our "spiritual," that is our super-physical nature, to the end that man's happiness in some other existence may be increased through the individual's adjustment to the conditions of "spiritual" growth and "spiritual" well-being, especially for some other time and place.

The scientist, or secularist, never subordinates the human happiness of this existence to that of any other. The religionist, on the other hand, whenever a conflict arises between the joys of this life and those of some other kind of existence, always must sacrifice the present for the advancement of that other super-physical existence. These distinctions are of the highest practical importance, and always to be observed by a secular state, when making laws for its citizens.

Where a union of church and state is forbidden there cannot properly be any statutory enforcement of religious edicts on morality or anything else. The secular state can and must deal only with the social relations of man according to their social utility, as that is discovered in nature's moral law and never as it is read into natural law from the ethical sentimentalizing of those whose sources of authority in matters of morals are not primarily based upon secular considerations, and whose methods of arriving at moral truth are not the methods of the scientist and whose objects, because religious, are such as are not entrusted to the accomplishment of a secular state.

By thus clarifying our vision as to the essential difference between the religious activities of the individual and the functions of a secular state, much improper legislation and unseemly controversy can and should be avoided.

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ZIONISM OR SOCIALISM: WHICH WILL SOLVE THE JEWISH QUESTION?

BY SAUL BEAUMONT.

AMONG the divers questions of general importance that have of late arisen in the arena of social activity, the question of the reestablishment of an independent Jewish state, commonly known as "Zionism," has also taken its place; and although at first insignificant in its scope, and ignored by the rationally thinking Jews themselves, it is now assuming considerable proportions, and therefore it begets recognition as a social factor to cope with. As the dream of philosophers and aspiration of fanatics, this desire to reconstruct Judea was harmless enough; but when it is beginning to develop into a general aggressive movement, which, if not checked may somewhat hinder the solution of problems exceedingly greater—a word of warning must be sounded. Moreover, as in the onward march of social forces every retarding factor must be avoided, and as Zionism may develop into a formidable obstacle in the progress of mankind, it therefore must be dealt with as must every other social infection, in order to clear the way for the general movement of economic emancipation. Then, again, it is regrettable that so many idealists should exert their energy on mirages in the skies of Judaism, while there is much greater need of their services among the progressive forces of to-day. And because of this retrogressiveness of the sons of Israel, an analysis of their aspirations forces itself to the front. To begin with: What is this Zionism, and what are its objects?

Zionism is the highest ideal of the orthodox Jew. It is inborn in him from times bygone, and in it he sees the restoration of his national independence. Zionism means to him the repossession of the Holy Land and the resurrection of

its once famous capital—Zion. And since its destruction, his heartrending lamentations reëcho in all the corners of the earth. Nothing can appease him in his age-long sorrow for the lost glories of Jerusalem.

"Lishunoh haboh biirushulaim"—
"Next year we will be in Jerusalem"—
is the cry of the orthodox Jew at the culmination of his prayers on every Passover night since the downfall of Judea and the scattering of its inhabitants all over the world.

Groanful is this outcry of the sorrowing Jew. From year to year he repeats his inspiring slogan, hoping that some day he will return into the land of his forefathers, out of which he was driven by the resistless forces of social evolution; that some day he also will take his place among the independent nations of the earth; and then an end will come to his centuries-long suffering and ceaseless persecution.

Such is the conception of the orthodox Jew of the word Zion, which was in recent years clothed in a more befitting mantle by his "liberal" compatriots and surnamed Zionism.

Zionism, then, is a theory of renationalization of the Jewish race and its sole aim is the reestablishment of an independent Jewish state in Palestine or thereabouts. And amongst its advocates, from the late Dr. Herzl to its present supporters, can be found a number of intelligent men, who are endeavoring to mold it into existence, and in that direction are expending considerable time and energy.

To the ordinary observer the activity of these leaders of Jewish nationalism would seem quite rational. "Let them organize their race, buy Palestine from

the Turks, and settle them over there," may undoubtedly be his comment.

But to the student of social phenomena this new Utopia presents an entirely different aspect. He looks at it seriously, carefully considering every point, and his conclusions usually attain some basis to stand upon. He begins at the beginning and proceeds systematically at his task.

Therefore one more glance at the past of the Jewish race is essentially necessary to strengthen his assertion.

Ever since the downfall of Judea the Jews have spread all over the earth. They, it seems were the first ones to perceive—whether instinctively or otherwise—that empires come and go, and nations, as well as individuals, must undergo the same fundamental laws of physical and social evolution. And the reason that they scattered everywhere was, most assuredly, the logical abandonment of a forlorn cause; otherwise they would undoubtedly have remained in Palestine and earnestly endeavored to resuscitate their national corpse—Zion. Presumably, the economic and social conditions of their fatherland were no more tolerable in those dark days of Judea, and a general exodus followed. It must also be remembered, that at the time of its destruction (through internal strife and Roman aggression), the Jewish empire was at its highest stage of development, and, if history is at all trustworthy, the masses of the people were then overrun by the all-powerful clerical oligarchy, and, after that great and noble champion of their cause, Jesus, was so brutally disposed of, they lost all hope of ever regaining their rights and position. The result is well known—Judea fell to pieces. Our forefathers began to wander again; this time not through the deserts of Africa and Arabia, but between the semi-civilized and semi-barbaric peoples around the Mediterranean.

Eighteen centuries have since elapsed. The Jews settled down amongst other nations, endeavoring to forget the past.

But social events willed it otherwise. And hard and painful have been the sufferings of our forefathers since that time. The Inquisition of Spain, the persecution and oppression in many other lands, the recent massacres in Roumania and in the domains of the Czar, have impressed upon us a mark so deep as never to be forgotten.

In the meantime, what is to be done? What must we do to save ourselves from persecution and oppression? And how shall we attain the rights of man amongst men?

"Zion, build a new Zion," hasten the Zionists to reply.

With all respect to my distinguished compatriots, will I say: that the time has not yet come for progress to retrograde. And the reason is obvious, simply because Zionism, from whichever side it is looked upon, appears as a Utopia full of unpardonable fallacies, which owes its appearance in the modern social arena solely to the great sympathy of some of the progressive Jews, living under more favorable conditions, towards their less fortunate brethren, who are from sheer necessity compelled to linger under the yokes of ignorance and autocracy,—but it has not evolved from the natural nor sociological development of human society.

From a humanitarian point-of-view, the existence of the Zionist movement is somewhat commendable, but from the practical side of it, it has no lease of life.

Why?

Because in the first place, what is this movement proposing to accomplish? What are its aims and objects? Is it the establishment of a new Judea? Will it be a monarchy or republic? If so, where? Is it to be in Palestine, in Uganda, or perhaps somewhere amongst the lost tribes of Israel? And, on the other hand, can that really be accomplished? Can a nation actually be "made to order" in a day or two or thereabouts? Or is it possible for the

Jews to isolate themselves somewhere in a "chosen spot" and entirely ignore the events of social progress? Or the Uganda scheme—is it a practical one? Can it be materialized beneficially? Can the colonization of the Jews there benefit them to any extent? Is it possible to develop that wilderness into an independent Jewish state? Can that be accomplished? Even if accomplished, will that relieve the situation? If so, how?

At its congress held in Basel, Switzerland, the failure properly to consider some of the above questions caused the split of the Zionist movement into two rival factions—the Palestinites and the Ugandists.

The project of the Palestine faction of the Zionists is to purchase from the Sultan of Turkey the land of their ancestors; to induce as many Jews as possible to emigrate there; to assist them in the process of colonization; and to establish an independent government of their own under the protectorate of the European powers.

This project is thoroughly fallacious. It can never be accomplished under the present competitive social system, and there will be no need of it under the future coöperative régime. The reason is a simple one: It is futile to expect that the rulers of the world will ever consent that that strategic point of commercialism in the eastern hemisphere shall be taken possession of by the Jewish financiers. They, the Gentile "Captains of Commerce" and their political lackeys, realize only too well that Palestine, and all the other lands adjoining the Suez Canal, will soon be (if they are not already) the key to the markets of Asia, which they themselves are only too eager to seize, hold and exploit to the limit. The law of competition comes in here too sharply not to be understood by them. The men on top of the heap of gold nowadays are too shrewd to be diverted from it. They will hold onto this golden vein and will reject any and all projects and propositions that are in the slightest

degree antagonistic to their private interests, even if they do come from the "leading" sons of Israel.

The Palestine wing of the Zionist movement is therefore knocking against impossibility itself, and for this very reason it is unquestionably doomed to go down to oblivion. There lies, therefore, no hope in this direction.

The Uganda project can be summed up as follows. A large tract of wild territory in East Africa, uncultivated and in primitive condition, claimed as their "legal" possession by the rulers of Great Britain, and of no earthly use to them for the time being, is offered to the Jews for colonizing purposes—with the provision that England shall have the suzerainty over it.

This scheme, which on the surface has some semblance of practicability, resembles, under closer examination, nothing but a false illusion, because of the plainly visible, although deep laid, plan of the shrewd British and Jewish financiers to again exploit a large part of our unfortunate brethren—this time under the mask of hypocritical "philanthropy."

How so? Simply because for a considerable number of propertyless Jews to get to Uganda (the propertied ones will most assuredly stay where they are) a vast sum of money will be required—and it will be furnished by the Kings of Finance. Once there, homes will have to be built, roads laid out and the land cultivated, and to do all these things a large amount of material, tools and machinery will be required—and that will also be furnished by the Knights of Mammon. Then, again, food, clothing and shelter (until things shape themselves), medical men and medicine, civil administrators, police and military protection, border guards to protect them against hostile attacks of their savage neighbors, constables, lawyers, judges, jailors, general managers, governors-general, etc., will also be required—and all these will be furnished by the moneyhe "lovers" of mankind. In a word, ted

whole paraphernalia of a modern "civilized" state would have to be put into operation, backed by the "great men" of Great Britain and their Hebrew colleagues,—and all that for just one "humanitarian" reason—the trinity of rent, interest and profit. Then add one of the scions of the House of Rothschild, as Viceroy of Uganda, and you will have a ready-made Zion.* And once more would Mammon reign in the "new" land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.

And is not this a fallacy of fallacies, that even the "leading" Jews of modern times have not as yet succeeded in opening their eyes and keeping them open, so they could see what is taking place around them?†

But "leaders" or no leaders, the destiny of the Jews is to march forward, not backwards. There is no more room on this planet for an independent Jewish state. Mother earth is big enough for all of us. Let us not be enthused by antiquated illusions of insignificant nationalism. Internationalism is the thing for us. We live to-day in an age of reason, and reason we must use. At present we are confronted with questions of far greater importance than ours that must be speedily solved. They involve not only us, but the whole of mankind, of which we are but a small part. To solve these questions is the problem that concerns the human race. Therefore, its questions are also our questions; its progress is our progress its welfare will be our welfare. To-day all mankind suffers from a system of

*There still exists another branch of Zionist followers, an appendix, so to speak, masquerading under the names of Zionists-Territorialists and Zionists-Socialists, full of schemes and worthless ideas, whom we will respectfully exclude from the subject before us as a matter of inferior importance.

†The chaotic procedure and lack of enthusiasm at the last Zionist Congress, held at the Hague, Holland, manifests the awakening of its representatives to the cold facts herein outlined. It seems they have given up dreaming and are beginning to think with their eyes wide open, and another year or two will most assuredly see them drifting in the right direction.

economic inequality. The many are exploited by the few. Hence classes and masses and struggle and strife unlimited. But this social disorder cannot and will not last forever. The progress of the entire world revolts against it. A radical change must come, and there is nothing to hinder its approach. In fact, everything that to-day moves the social fabric works in that direction. The class struggle is on. It is a continuation of the everlasting strife for freedom, for justice. Justice and freedom are the vanguard of civilization. True civilization will prevail only then, when justice will be the main object within man and amongst men. But justice does not prevail to-day. Hence there is no real freedom, and the civilization we boast so much about is but mockery and deceit.

But the destiny of man is to better himself and improve the conditions under which he lives. The economic forces at the basis of human society dominate its course and shape its activity. Therefore, the human being in order to become a man, a just, free, civilized man, must obey these economic laws governing his progress, but not resist them, as the case is nowadays. The laws of progress force men to combine in order to be in a better position to combat for their rights, to revolt against oppression. And this revolt is fast approaching.

All over the civilized world the trumpets of the times call the toilers to action. They are arraying themselves into solid phalanxes and vigorously combatting for their emancipation. The tramp of the oppressed millions loudly resounds over all civilized lands, and the expected will happen. Such is the way of mankind. It has to force its way onward.

From time immemorial it has been moving forward. At times its onward march is hardly noticeable; at other times it strides forward with enormous leaps, irresistibly overcoming all the obstacles hindering its advance. The

slow, standstill-like periods in human society are its evolutionary developments; the rapid strides and forceful changes are its social revolutions. But social revolutions are preceded by series of social evolutions, and all changes in the social fabric are the results of its economic development. The extent of progress reached by society evolves from the stage attained in its economic evolution; because the means by which we live regulate our mode of living, and the mode whereby we provide for our living shapes the destiny of our environment.

These are economic laws governing human society. They dominate irresistibly, unceasingly. We are at the mercy of this economic progress of social evolution, and have, therefore, rationally to submit. And as the economic evolutions of the past and present centuries are irresistibly preparing the present social order for a radical change—the social revolution; and as it is also historically true that all radical changes in the onward march of civilized nations have greatly improved the conditions not only of the oppressed Gentiles, but of the Jews as well, therefore, the Jews ought rationally to expect to derive a still greater benefit from the impending social change; and for this very reason, in this direction only must they direct their energy, because from the emancipation of the whole human race, all its parts will simultaneously derive the desired benefit.

This the Jews must conceive, and proceed to act accordingly. All their energy must be concentrated and utilized at one vital point—absolute freedom. And as absolute freedom cannot be attained without economic liberty, and this, in turn, cannot be brought about without the entire reconstruction of society, therefore it stands to reason that Zionism, even in its broadest attitude cannot relieve their lamentable situation. And our case would indeed be one to cause despair if there were not to-day two powerful currents in our

social order that speedily drift to our assistance. The more prominent of the two is the economic factor in our modern industrial development, and of no less importance is its companion—the intellectual development of the masses. The growth of these social phenomena is indeed marvelous. They virtually do the work. On the one hand they concentrate the industry of the world in the hands of a few industrial autocrats, and on the other prepare the proletariat of the world to expropriate the expropriators. The individual ownership of the means of life will soon become the collective ownership of the collectivity operating them. The workers of the world will then own the world, and it will be this collective ownership that will forever remove all causes of hatred and strife from amongst men.

The progress of mankind, then, forced forward by its economic evolution and guided by intellect, reason and justice, will inaugurate a system of equal economic, political and social rights for all sections of the human family, be it Jew or Gentile, black or white.

And this approaching social system is now known throughout the civilized world—Socialism is its name. Socialism, therefore, is the remedy for the evils of human society, and all its parts, Jews included, will simultaneously benefit by it.

Socialism, which means the collective ownership by all the people, without regard to faith, race or nationality, of all the natural resources and all the means of production, transportation and exchange, will, when established, forever remove the causes of strife and hatred among men. Moreover, Socialism in its entirety aims at the abrogation of the causes of individual as well as social antagonism and will inaugurate in its place perpetual peace on earth. Socialism, then, is the remedy for the suffering Jews and for mankind in general: it alone can and will solve the Jewish question.

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VARIOUS VOTING SYSTEMS.

By ROBERT TYSON,

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GOOD government depends upon the sort of men elected to power. The sort of men elected is mainly determined by the sort of system which is used to elect them. Environment is all-powerful. Voting systems are the controlling environment of the voter and of the candidate. They not only help to determine whether the man elected is good, bad or indifferent *per se*, but they help to determine the influence under which he will act while in office. A representative is usually faithful to the power that *actually* elects him, whether that power be a private corporation, a *clique*, a party organization, or the people themselves. The power that is *supposed* to elect him is altogether another matter. The only power that *should* elect a representative is the people. It is not so at present. To make it so an electoral reform is needed—Proportional Representation.

The purpose of this article is to set out briefly the principal voting systems, in use or proposed; showing their relation to each other, whether proportional, unproportional, or "betwixt and between"; with the advantages and drawbacks of each. I begin with a brief definition of

FULL PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

In an electoral district from which several members are elected, a quota of voters can secure one representative if the method of election is fully proportional.

A "quota" means that number of voters which is sufficient to elect one representative, no matter what the other electors may do. For instance: in a district electing five members or representatives, each voter having one vote only, any one-sixth of the voters with one added can elect one candidate.

Example: 12,000 electors vote; if 2,001 of them vote for the same candidate it is impossible for five other candidates to each get 2,001 votes; because six times 2,001 is 12,006, and there are only 12,000 votes cast. Therefore any candidate having 2,001 votes is elected; and 2,001 is one-sixth of 12,000 plus one.

Rule.—To find the true quota, or smallest number of votes that will elect one candidate, divide the number of votes cast by one more than the number of seats to be filled, and add one to the quotient.

Note: For the purposes of certain voting systems, other methods of getting a quota are used, resulting usually in a larger quota than the true one.

PARTIAL PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION.

This is found in systems which do not permit of one quota electing one representative, but require two or more quotas to vote together in order to elect sometime one member only, sometimes two or more.

Definitions of specific systems follow.

1. *The Single-Member District.*—An electoral district from which only one member is elected, each elector having only one vote.

Present system: Unproportional, defective and objectionable.

2. *The Multiple District With Block Vote.*—An electoral district from which more than one member is elected, each voter having as many votes as there are members to be elected.

Present system: Unproportional, defective and a little more objectionable than the Single-Member District for political elections.

3. *The Limited Vote (Ordinary Form).*—In an electoral district from which

several members are elected (hereafter called "a multiple district") each voter has fewer than as many votes as there are members to be elected, but not fewer than half. In a ten-member district the voter would be given six or seven votes.

A defective system. Too rigid and inelastic, somewhat erratic in results, and invites sinister organization. Is only proportional to the extent that it gives one minority party a chance to put in representatives.

4. *The Limited Vote (Special Form).*—If the limitation of votes is carried far enough it gives a fair measure of partial proportional representation. If in a five-member district each elector is only allowed two votes, the result is that one-third of the voters, with two added, can elect two representatives. Example: 12,000 electors vote, each with two votes, and 24,000 votes are cast; 4,002 of the voters unite their 8,004 votes on the same two men, giving them 4,002 votes each. It is impossible for the remaining 7,998 voters, with their 15,996 votes, to elect more than three additional candidates; because if two more candidates are elected by the least number that can elect them, namely, 8,004 votes, there are only 7,992 votes left, not enough to put any two candidates above or on a par with the other four.

Although somewhat inelastic and uncertain in operation, this plan is a great improvement on the other form of the Limited Vote, if it is arranged so that at least one-third or one-fourth of the voters, acting independently together, can secure their proportional share of representation. The plan might be confined to giving two votes, no matter what the size of the district, and be called The Double Vote.

5. *Cumulative Voting.*—In a multiple electoral district, each voter has as many votes as there are seats to be filled, with the power to cumulate them all on one candidate or to give each of them to a different candidate, or to distribute

them amongst several candidates in any proportion he pleases.

This is a compromise between the proportional Single Vote and the unproportional Block Vote: giving the voter the option to adopt either or any medium between the two. If in a five-member district, for example, every voter were to concentrate all his five votes upon some one candidate, the result would be just the same as if each voter had one vote only; and so with any other multiple district. In a six-member district, if every voter voted in blocks of three votes for two candidates only the result would be just the same as if each voter had two votes only.

This suggests the idea that no elector can really have more than one vote, so long as each one is given the same voting power; and that the multiple vote is simply compelling the voter to divide his one vote into as many fractions as there are members to be elected, and penalizing him by the loss of some of the fractions if he does not vote for the full number. Similarly with the Limited Vote. The Cumulative Vote gives the voter the option of clipping his vote into fractions or not, as he pleases.

The Cumulative Vote is an objectionable compromise. It results sometimes in many wasted votes; is not always proportional; and has no merits which are not possessed by the simple Untransferable Single Vote used in a similar district, besides being cumbersome for the election officials.

6. *The Cleveland System (Preponderance of Choice).*—This plan was explained some years ago by the late Dr. Tuckerman as being in use in some organizations in Cleveland.

In a multiple district, each voter marks his ballot for a first choice, a second and third choice, etc., down to the number of seats to be filled; the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., being used. In counting the votes, a specific number of "points" is credited to the candidate on each choice. In a five-member district a first

choice counts five points, a second choice four points, a third choice three points, a fourth choice two points, and a fifth choice one point. The five candidates getting the greatest number of points are elected.

The Cleveland System is simply the Block Vote a little ameliorated by lessening in a descending ratio the power of each vote—or of each fraction of a vote, whichever way you like to take it. There is a small proportional element in it, but the counting is tedious and cumbersome. The ordinary Limited Vote is a better system.

The Cleveland plan might be simplified and improved by limiting the votes, thus: In a district or meeting electing five representatives or fewer, let each voter mark a first and second choice: the first choice to count two points and the second choice to count one. In effect this is giving two votes to one candidate and one vote to another; or, two-thirds of your vote to one candidate and one-third to another, according to the way in which you look at it. In districts or meetings electing six or more representatives, there might be three choices, counting three, two, and one points respectively.

7. *The Free List With Multiple or Block Vote.*—This is the plan used in several Cantons of Switzerland. In a district electing several members, the candidates of each party appear on the official ballot in separate lists, and each elector may vote for as many candidates as there are seats to be filled. When the votes are counted, a quota is ascertained, and the number of votes cast for each party is divided in turn by the quota, thus showing the proportionate number of seats to which each party is entitled. These seats are usually filled by those candidates of each party who receive the highest number of votes. There are many variations in detail.

The Free List with Multiple Vote gives Proportional Representation as between parties, but not as between

members of the same party. It is therefore defective. It puts too much power in the hands of the party organization, and restricts the free choice of the voter.

8. *Other Forms of the Free List, and Quota Methods.*—The Free List may be varied by using the following forms, amongst others:

(a) The voter may or may not cast a party vote at the head of a list, as well as or instead of individual votes.

(b) The Cumulative Vote may be used instead of the Block Vote.

(c) Or various forms of the Limited Vote may be used. In France it has been proposed to give two votes where the number of seats is not more than six, and three votes where it is from seven to ten, and so on.

(d) Each elector may have one vote only, as in Belgium. This usually is fully proportional, and it will be more fully described. To this plan the proxy feature may be added; that is, each elected representative may cast on a division as many votes as he received at his election, in the manner later referred to, preferably without the coupon arrangement.

As to obtaining a quota in List systems, the principal methods are as follows:

(1) Divide the total number of votes by the number of members required. The quotient is the electoral divisor. Then, if the required number of members is not got on full quotas, the party or parties having the largest "remainder" or "remainders," after the division, get the additional member or members.

(2) Divide the total number of votes by one more than the number of members required, and add one to the quotient, which is then the electoral divisor. Fill up unfilled seats by means of "remainders," as above indicated.

(3) Use the celebrated and complicated d' Hondt method, which is set forth in the Belgian Electoral Act as follows: "The head office divides successively

by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., the electoral total of each of the lists, and arranges the quotients in the order of their importance, up to the amount of a total number of quotients equal to that of members to be elected. The last quotient serves as the electoral divisor. The division of seats amongst lists is effected by assigning to each of them as many as its electoral total comprises of times the divisor."

(4) Exclude from the apportionment any party whose vote does not reach a certain defined percentage of the total vote cast, thus preventing a small party from getting one seat by means of a "remainder" when it had not a quota at all. For instance, when ten are to be elected, a party must get nine per cent. of the aggregate vote in order to be "in the count." This is a proposal of Professor Commons'.

9. *The Single Untransferable Vote.* In a multiple electoral district each elector has one vote only, and the required number of seats is filled by the candidates having the largest number of votes. Used in the Parliamentary elections of Japan.

This is the simplest of all the systems of Proportional Representation, and is the one that gives the least work to the election officers. The only objection to it is that a very popular man may draw to himself so many votes from an associate of the same party as to allow the candidate of another party to get in the place of the latter, besides wasting a great many votes. If this kind of thing does not happen, the system is fully proportional. By reason of the freedom with which diverse interests are represented, the elector who votes for an unsuccessful candidate finds usually amongst those elected one who comes near enough to his own views.

10. *The Single Transferable Vote.*—This title embraces a number of systems which incorporate different methods of direct or indirect transfer of votes from candidates obtaining more than a quota and from those without enough votes to be elected. Waste of votes is thus prevented, and an almost mathematically exact result is got. Specific descriptions follow.

11. *The Hare or Hare-Spence System.*

In a multiple electoral district each elector has only one vote which finally counts, but he marks several candidates in the order of his choice with the figures 1, 2, 3, 4, etc., with the object that if the candidate of his first choice does not need or cannot use his vote, some other candidate may.

The first operation of counting the votes deals with the first-choice votes only, and an electoral quota is obtained by dividing their total, either by the number of seats to be filled, or by the number of seats plus one, with one added to the quotient, as already referred to. The latter is preferable, because it gives a candidate no more votes than are necessary to elect him.

If any candidate has a surplus over and above the quota, the surplus is distributed by a method based on the second and subsequent choices; sometimes by chance, sometimes mathematically. All surpluses having been distributed, the candidates having the lowest number of votes are successively eliminated, and their votes distributed according to the second and other choices, until the required number is elected.

The Hare system is the only one advocated in England and Australia, and has been well tested in Parliamentary elections in Tasmania. The objections to it are:

(1) It cannot be used with an automatic voting machine instead of with ballots.

(2) It demands particular care, intelligence and interest on the part of the election officers.

(3) When a large number of voters are illiterate, or have not entire reliance on the integrity of the election officials, the manipulation and apparent juggling with the ballots may cause suspicion and dissatisfaction.

(4) The ballots must all be taken to one central place to be counted.

The Hare-Spence system gives admirable results, and is theoretically an almost perfect plan.

12. *The Gove System.*—In a multiple electoral district each candidate, after nomination and before election, publishes

or may publish a preferential list of those to whom he desires that the Election Board shall transfer his surplus, if any, over and above the quota, or all his votes if he has not enough to elect him. He may bracket as equal such candidates as he does not desire to prefer one above another.

Each voter casts one vote only. The election officers count the votes, obtain a quota as heretofore indicated, and transfer surplus votes and ineffective votes on the basis of the candidates' lists.

This is a simple and practical system, giving absolutely proportional results, and one which can be used with an automatic voting machine, making fraud difficult or impossible.

The objection that the voter and not the candidate should decide the transfer of votes is answered thus: The voter knows the candidates' lists beforehand. Transfers often do not affect the result of an election in any way.

An objection of more weight appears to be that candidates might feel it an invidious task to make preferential lists. The answer is that this would be largely a matter of mutual arrangement and consultation.

13. *The Proxy System.*—In a multiple district each elector has a single vote. At the time of receiving his ballot he receives also a set of transfer coupons, all numbered alike with his voting number, which is unknown to the election officers. The votes are counted in the ordinary way, the highest candidates being elected. If a voter finds that the candidate for whom he voted is not elected, he, without revealing his identity, mails to the proper officer one of his numbered coupons, requesting that his vote be transferred to one of the elected candidates whom he names. Each candidate is entitled to cast on a division in Legislature or Council as many votes as were cast for him on his election and have been subsequently transferred to him. Any voter dissatisfied with the course of his representative may take his vote away from that representative and give it to another who suits him better, merely by mailing a coupon

A simple system, with great merit, and one that would appeal strongly to popular imagination. It does not quite meet the objection of a popular candidate taking votes unwittingly from an associate, because the influence and personality of a member count. Votes on a division are not the only thing. But the Proxy system does prevent waste of votes, and it gives the voters great control of their elected representatives.

14. *The Free List with Single Vote.*—In a multiple district the candidates of each party are printed in lists on the official ballot, and each voter has only one vote. Preferably he must give that vote to an individual candidate and not put it at the head of the list.

When the votes are counted, a quota is obtained in one of the ways already indicated. The totals of the lists are in turn divided by the quota, and the successful candidates are those receiving the highest votes on their respective lists, according to the number of seats each list gets.

This, with slight variations, is the plan which has been in successful operation in Belgium since 1900. It is an excellent and simple system, adapted to the use of an automatic voting machine.

The difficulty which attaches to the use of the Single Untransferable vote as already mentioned, is removed as between parties, and can only occur as between members of the same party. By adding the proxy feature the difficulty is reduced to a minimum.

15. *The Absolute Majority Methods.*—I have dealt hitherto with the election of representatives. When a single executive officer has to be elected, such as a Governor or a Mayor, he can and should be elected by a system which will ensure an absolute majority at one balloting, no matter how many candidates are in the field.

Either the Hare or the Gove plan can be modified so as to do this. No quota is used, and there are no surpluses to deal with; but the remainder of the process in each case is practically as already described. If no candidate gets a clear

majority on the count of first-choice votes, the one with the lowest number of votes is eliminated and his votes transferred in the way already indicated. This process is continued until some one gets a majority or until only two candidates remain; one or the other of whom must have the majority, because all the votes will have been concentrated on them by transfer.

Detailed descriptions of the foregoing systems may be found in past issues of the *Proportional Representation Review*, in reprints of articles published in *THE ARENA*,* in the book of Professor Commons, and in other publications.

To derive the full advantages of Proportional Representation not less than five members should be elected from a district, and a larger number is much better. Of course, where circumstances absolutely limit the size of a district, better results are derived from the use of Proportional Representation, even in a small district, than could be got by using an unproportional plan.

Much progress is being made by the reform in widely-separated countries, and the outlook for purified politics is encouraging and hopeful. ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

THE PRINCIPLES OF ARBITRATION.

BY F. MILTON WILLIS.

THE IDEA underlying arbitration is generally considered to be: the effort to restore harmony by the establishment of a common ground on which the contestants may proceed with their activities without jostling one another, this common ground being but a compromise acceded to by the parties to the dispute, without special reference to the truth in the matter.

Such measures as those wherein the truth is not revealed and sustained, we venture to assert, are but palliatives and hence temporary in nature.

An arbitrator is a judge. His function is, to extract and isolate the truth from the mass of evidence. His duty is to lay aside all prejudice, all promptings of emotion, all self-interest, and decide solely in the light of intellect, being careful to base his judgment not upon legal grounds alone, but upon considerations of equity and, in some cases, temperament as well.

Mere compromise can never be final. The arbitrator, be he an individual or a collection of individuals, should be sus-

tained in an absolute and unfettered discretion to decide solely in accord with the dictates of truth or of an expediency which has the truth for its goal.

Let us glance at the conditions surrounding all contestants, whether individuals, voluntary organizations, nations, or races. All are immersed in a mental atmosphere peculiar to themselves. This atmosphere, in the case of groups of individuals, is made up of the results of temperamental peculiarities, of prejudices due to provincial or national traditions, of thought-channels dug by forceful individuals, indeed of biases of all sorts arising from a common history, common interests, common thoughts and common feelings and desires; and, in the case of individuals, is made up of similar tendencies due to environment, predisposition, their own thinking and self-interest. Through this mental atmosphere surrounding each does each look as through a colored glass (each except the advanced few who can rise and look through the clear, crystalline atmosphere of Reason), and, so far as he alone is concerned, rightly does

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one say that the proposition is thus, and another that it is something else, whereas a dispassionate observer readily perceives it to be neither the one nor the other.

Many are the moral accusations inspired, many the antipathies aroused, many the quarrels engendered by ignorance of this fact that we look out upon things through different media and consequently see them differently. Were nations to recognize this so fruitful source of disputes, war would presently cease, for it would be perceived that in a matter of contention the disinterested arbitrator alone can arrive at a point nearest the truth.

Proceeding now to formulate the principles of arbitration, we venture to display them as follows:

1. The recognition of a common Reason in which all humanity participates.

2. An appreciation of the fact that, aside from his selfish interest in the subject of dispute, each contestant is affected by a mental atmosphere peculiar to himself, so that his apprehension of facts and their relations is different from that of another, and hence the decisions of his reason are likely not only to be adverse to those of his opponent, but also unintentionally to swerve from the truth.

3. A determination on the part of the contestants to abide by the decision of the arbitrator or at least to endeavor to reach

to the standpoint of Reason on which the decision is intended to be based, and, if it be obviously wrong, to confute it and demand a new arbitration in virtue of the new light thrown upon the case; the contestants to assume the attitude of seeking the truth, no matter whither it leads.

4. As a practical measure, in the case of international arbitration, the cession to the international board of arbitration of such a portion of the armament of the several nations represented in the board as will produce a preponderance of force against which no probable combination of nations can successfully strive; for such is the moral status of national entities that it is probable that, for a considerable period to come, the "big stick" must accompany even the just decree.

5. The idea underlying true arbitration to be, the restoration of harmony by eliciting the truth in the matter of dispute and so presenting it to the parties concerned, that, by virtue of the common Reason in which they participate, they will perceive it to be the truth and realize that no infraction of it can be tolerated in the network of law in which all things are so woven that any breach must not only eventually injure the delinquent but some who are innocent as well.

F. MILTON WILLIS.

San Francisco, Calif.

PROFESSIONAL CIVILIZATION.

BY WILLIAM B. HIDDEN, M.D.

WHAT do we mean by civilization? "Science declares that the true tests of civilization—on the material side at least—are: (1) The degree to which the powers of Nature are made conducive to the well-being of man; and (2) the degree to which man has learned to conform to the laws of Nature."

The degree to which the powers of Nature are made conducive to the well-being of man by the medical profession, and the degree to which the profession has learned to conform to the laws of Nature, should determine the extent of professional civilization. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the profession bled,

blistered and physicked their patients with the idea of killing the disease. They deprived them of air and water lest these elements should feed the disease. Their plan of treatment originated in the idea that disease, like sin—the result of violated law—came to us through inheritance from old Adam, and was natural, while health was abnormal and acquired. It will readily be seen how naturally Jenner's system of vaccination was born from such a recognition of disease. It must also be remembered that offal and the products of disease were then thought less likely to feed disease than air and water. The uncivilized to this day depend upon such a *Materia Medica*. If the question were put to the medical profession to-day Which is natural, health or disease? probably those who have not specially thought upon the subject would say both are natural. Yet that is as impossible as "the worship of God and Mammon." The question is vital to our inquiry, for how can the profession work in harmony with Nature without knowing her ways?

From our standpoint those trying to kill the disease, believing it natural, killed their patients more frequently than the disease.

The fact that so many people pass through contagion and life without having any disease whatever, and that germs of disease—like every living thing—must find something to feed upon or they perish, proves that health is natural and disease acquired. In applying the scientific test of civilization to the medical profession it is pertinent to compare professional methods with those of Nature. Nature secures freedom from disease to those who live carefully and obey her laws, by throwing off impurities from the body through its emunctories. The skin, with its network of nerves so exquisitely interwoven that a needle-point cannot penetrate without pain, and its millions of pores through which insensible perspiration and unknown impurities pass, constitute her armor of protection. Thus Nature throws out from the body the impure elements upon

which the germs of disease feed, preventing disease and aiding restoration. How does the profession proceed to accomplish the same result? While apparently they believe that health is a natural condition of man, as evidenced by their well-directed efforts to destroy all external, disease-breeding filth, they utterly ignore Nature's plan of throwing off impurities, and substitute therefor the Jennerian system of inserting an unnatural lymph—the product of diseased animal tissue—under the skin of all well people, of all ages and conditions. They declare that breaking the skin is one of the most perilous incidents of life and that they should be called at once to prevent blood-poisoning; but when they insert the product of blood-poison in the broken skin it obliterates or eliminates the impurities upon which the germs of smallpox live and is not dangerous to the system.

This is up-to-date medical science, that looks forward to the day when every disease shall have its special lymph, that shall prove as profitable and productive of ill-health as vaccination has been. If the scientific definition of civilization is correct, the medical profession is more Jennerized than civilized.

But let us see how the declaration of science applies to other phases of natural science. Through ascertaining the laws that govern electricity and working in harmony with them, we are now able to control and use it in various ways in the service of man, and so far as its use is concerned, we are, according to science, a civilized nation.

Who knows what would have been the result if the medical profession had become as familiar with the laws of life and Nature's methods of preserving and restoring health, as scientists have with the laws of electricity? What would have been the result if man had always been a thinking animal? Let us try the kindergarten method of ascertaining the relation of cause and effect upon the human organism and the unchangeable laws resulting therefrom. When the disciples of Jenner

felt the tenderness of the skin and saw how it became thicker and less sensitive from the use of tools and irritation upon hands and feet; if they had discerned the law that Nature thus protected the organism against irritation, external and internal, what an amount of "proud flesh" would have been avoided; bleeding and physicking would have given place to milder measures, and the use of water would have taken the place of irritating lotions. When they saw that milk-maids and others exposed to smallpox did not have the disease, had they recognized the fact that health was natural (not disease), that outdoor exercise and careful living protected people, what a blessing it would have been to mankind.

When they saw the eruption of smallpox upon the body and noted that it came there, like perspiration, out through the pores from within, had they realized that it was Nature's effort to cleanse and purify the system, and that the virulence of the disease was greater or less according to what it had to feed upon, would they have added "fuel to put out the fire"?

Evidently a profession that believes that disease is man's natural condition and acts accordingly, is not civilized.

Science does *not* recognize civilization as a matter of statistics; it bases it upon a recognition of the laws of Nature and the adapting of them to the well-being of man. The strongest points of the medical armor are their theories and statistics and *solely* upon these are based the vaccination laws of America. Theories and statistics are as foreign to the evidence of civilization as the use of lymphs and antitoxines is to being in harmony with Nature's methods of securing the same results.

The writer has been a member of the regular profession for over forty years, but be it said to their intellectual credit, he has never read a medical paper even attempting to justify the use of any sort of lymph by a comparison with Nature's methods to the same end. "Cooked" statistics always seem to take the place of reason and comparison with Nature and her methods.

Several years ago a physician, driven from practice by an incident, so unaccountable as to be providential, chanced to notice that in using anesthetics the breath of the patient impinged directly upon the anesthetic, and, knowing that the warm breath of the patient must expand such a volatile fluid, he found out that it created an expansive force of over two atmospheres, filled the room with its odor and deprived the patient of air.

Though anesthetics had been used in this way for about fifty years, not a word had been written concerning such a result. He constructed an instrument to utilize the atmospheric pressure, normally dilute the anesthetic and give the patient the same amount of air he had the ability to use normally. Anesthetics thus used are *equally* as dangerous as natural sleep and are as likely to be followed with a good appetite and digestion.

The civilized that tried it, used it; others laid it aside, as the patient looked natural and eyes responded to the light, which they were not in the habit of seeing. They were not enough civilized to know that when people are breathing a normal amount of air, they look natural in the face and eyes. If physicians were as fully civilized as they are Jennerized,—that is, were as close followers of Nature's methods as they are of Jenner's methods,—they would not be attempting to reverse the action of the diaphragm and nose any more than the peristaltic action of the bowels; not seeking to cauterize a diseased membrane, but to keep it clean and give Nature a chance to restore; not endeavoring to harass but to assist the only restorative power known to man; then, common sense would take the place of surgery in the breathing channel.

It has been said that the most profound subject that ever engrossed the thought of man, is his relation to the world in which he lives, moves and has his being. True greatness in man is always characterized by a profound sympathy for his fellow-men. Professional erudition based upon the theories

and practice of the Jennerian system, can never raise the profession to a high state of civilization. That an educated profession, whose only claim to usefulness is its *assumed* and *presumed* understanding of and coöperation with the laws of Nature, should adopt measures of prevention and restoration from disease, entirely out of harmony with those of Nature, is the most stupendous

blunder of the century. The growth of the mind-healers would not be so marvelous, had not the Jennerian idea prepared the way for such a stampede.

If reason and common sense are not "a delusion and a snare," let us use them as a guide, ere we have no clientage.

WILLIAM B. HIDDEN.

Boston, Mass.

WHAT MY CHAR-WOMAN SAID TO ME: A PARABLE.

BY BOLTON HALL.

"WHY, IT 'S not so very hot," I said.

"But it 's the nights, sir," she said, "there 's no sleeping in the tenements such nights as these,—it 's sitting up all night with a fan in your hand and listening to the coughing and the crying of the children all around."

"I know that 's awful," I said.

"Awful and nothing for it—the landlord gets it all," she went on, "the rooms so small and such a rent; it is n't right, sir, it is n't right."

"Well, of course it is n't right," I said, "and if the poor would vote to tax the value of the land, so that the speculators could n't keep the land from those that need it, they would n't be packed in like cattle as they are now. Only one man in every nine is a landlord, so the remedy is in your own hands."

"And how would that be helping, sir?" said she.

"Why, if only the land were taxed, it would make building cheaper and the people could build flats and homes for themselves. The only tax would be on the land itself, not on what is built on it. It would not pay a man then to hold land idle, or even with a

poor building on it, for he would have to pay just as much as if a fine house was there. It 's the same as if a man takes a room in a hotel and gets the key and goes away; he has to pay as much for it as if he occupied the room and lived in it. In that way we can drive out the dog in the manger that is holding from you what he will not use himself."

"And what could the likes of us do with the land?"

"Sure it 's on the land we live and all we get and use comes out of the land. There is plenty of land, enough in one of the states alone to put the whole world into. We must knock down the fence that shuts the people out, and open up the Land, to the Laborers who will put up buildings enough, and good enough, for everybody in The Town."

"Well, if they could do that, it would be fine," she said, "but, sure, the poor has to vote the way they 're told—the men is n't sure of their jobs and they have to be in with the boss. They talk about this being a free land—there 's little freedom for them that owns no land."

BOLTON HALL.

New York City.

A MAN'S WORK: A STORY.

BY WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.

"Blessed is he who has found his work, let him ask no other blessedness."—CARLYLE.

AT ELDORADO COLLEGE the professors' houses are opened once a week to the students. It adds tremendously to the democracy of life and in many ways lifts the ideals of the student body. There 's salad and coffee at Bennett's, ice in queer little French cups at Bevan's, beer and pretzels at Bergstrom's:—good cheer and good-fellowship everywhere.

It was a Monday evening at Dr. Holmes', and a dozen or more of the older men were gathered in the Doctor's study, some smoking queer little white pipes with their names on the bowls, and which were kept for them in a rack over the mantel. Most of these men were intimates of the house, and always on Monday evening, when the crowd had gone, they dropped in to have a quiet half hour with their major-professor.

"You are all thinking of the part you must play in the world, I suppose," the Doctor said. It was near the end of Term.

"It 's deucedly hard to decide," McVey said, "especially if your inclinations pull you one way and your ambitions pull you another."

"That 's right, that 's right," the Doctor answered meditatively; "the hardest thing a man can get up against!"

"I 'm not so sure of that," Tommy Johnson interrupted. "What if you have n't either ambition or inclination?"

We all laughed a bit, though inside we felt pretty serious, for Johnson had done every man there plenty of good turns, and yet he was like that—and sure to have an empty, profitless life, if he did n't shipwreck altogether.

"Did I ever tell you how I came to be a teacher?" the Doctor asked. Just then Bess DeVries put her head in at the door. "We want to come in," she said, laughing, "you look so comfortable and expectant. Something good 's going to happen, I know."

"Why all this ceremony?" McVey inquired. "Is n't it a rule at this college that the girls have what they want and the men take the rest?" But Bess refused to joke, and turned her face to the Doctor. "May we? Your wife said I must ask, for this is your last Monday with your young men."

"Will they spoil the story?" Coulsen asked, "It does n't have anything to do with girls, does it?" The Doctor laughed. "Yes, it has a great deal to do with girls. I 'm afraid life has, fellows!"

"Tell them all to come in," he said to Bess, "only you must n't mind if we smoke." And then they came—a half-dozen clear-eyed, vigorous girls, with bouyant grace and sweet faces, the coëds of which Eldorado men are proud.

The Doctor's wife touched her husband as she passed, a silent, lingering caress, which we all saw and liked, for even then we knew that there was something between those two for which the world was made.

"I always liked telling what I learned," the Doctor began, "I think I was born to be a teacher."

"Tell them about your first pupil," Mrs. Holmes suggested.

"When I was seven I was told that the world was round, and that it moved about in space. I went home fairly bursting with knowledge. I hunted up Jo, my five year old brother, and told

him about it. Now Jo was argumentative and immediately produced a large matble with a cat inside, and with a grain of sand showed me that it was silly to suppose we could be on a round object that turned around and not fall off.

"I tried to convince him, but Jo had the best of me, and ended by pointing his finger and calling, 'Silly-nilly, silly-nilly.' Well, I lit into him and when I had him down I said, 'Is she round?'"

"'Yep,' Jo admitted.

"'Does she move?'"

"'Yep, she moves!'"

"You see," Mrs. Holmes said, "that proves beyond the shadow of a doubt that he was meant for a teacher." The fellows chortled. "You've changed your methods, sir," Henry said, laughing.

"Well, I hope so, but there are times when I see they're not so strikingly changed as I would wish—afterwards. But I have always had that uncontrollable desire to have others see my new truth, and see it my way, too.

"The year before I graduated from the Law School I made up my mind that teach I would, and I went to the Dean. He encouraged me. 'You'll be happy,' I remember he said to me, 'and I believe you'll do it so well that you'll do a deal of good.' Thus encouraged, I went to the Pater. He had a good law practice, and we lived in a big house, and had money for servants and trips to Europe and such like. It had never occurred to me to consider whether we were rich or not.

"I shall never forget how grave my father looked when I told him what I had been thinking.

"He shook his head. 'It can't be, Sonny,' he said. He always kept to the childish name when we were alone together—we were great chums, the Dad and I. 'We can't afford it.' And then he went on to tell me what must be. 'You'll be my partner, and there'll be plenty of money for everything. But I have n't saved much, and if you teach you'll just have to live on

your salary. You won't like being poor—the Curtis-Holmeses have n't ever been poor! If you teach you'll have to black your own boots, and carry your own bag, and shave yourself. Your sons can't go to Harvard; your wife will look dingy and your rugs will have hideous colors in them—colors that will make your flesh creep.'

"Well, boys, I had my eye on a certain tall, splendid-looking girl even then, and I could n't imagine her in a dingy down-at-the-heel place, and I would n't try to imagine life without her, so I admitted that the Pater was right, and gave it up.

"The next year I went to work with him, and it was just as he said. There was plenty of money for everything. We had a royal honeymoon on the Mediterranean, Josephine and I, and afterwards there was Rome and Lucerne and London and all the rest of it. Then home again, where we had all the flesh-pots imaginable.

"Through it all my heart was not satisfied and the old longing would come over me, and I knew that I'd give it all to stand before a class of young men, and teach them to see the right as I saw it. Of course, I kept it down. I felt bound to my father and Josephine.

"Well, ten years passed. My father was dead. I had pegged along studying and writing and one day the old Dean sent for me. 'There's to be a new department established out at Eldorado University—a department of history and law. They mean to help men to see the right, not turn them out merely with sharpened wits so they may get ahead of their fellows,' he told me, and he insisted that I was the man for the place. You see the ideals for you in that far-away beginning," and the Doctor's smile was full of love as he looked about at us.

"I told him that I could n't think of it, but he insisted that I must. 'You'd love it!' he said. Of course I'd love it, and I felt that grip on my heart that a man finds it hard to stand against. I walked back and forth in his little

office. 'Love,' I said, 'you can 't realize how I 'd love it, but I can 't afford it. My wife—' The Dean interrupted. 'Josephine will want you to have the best thing life has to give a man—the work he was born to do.' I thought he did n't know. He had n't seen Josephine with the shine in her face all because of a new Paris dress."

"It was n't that," Mrs. Holmes interrupted. "I won't have your boys think that of me."

"Well, I 've seen it since over a ten dollar white muslin, but I did n't know then. You see in those days you 'd deceived the very elect," he said whimsically.

"I 'll give you twenty-four hours to consider," the Dean said as I left. 'Remember this means three thousand, and the work will more than balance the twenty or twenty-five thousand that you give up.'

"I did n't mean to say a word about it at home, but of course I told Josephine before I 'd been in the house fifteen minutes, and I half threw the burden of choice upon her. You see the history of man repeating itself. Father decided for me before, and then I meant my wife should keep me in the path of duty.

"But she did n't. She looked up, a queer, surprised look on her face. 'You 'd enjoy teaching better than anything else?' she asked, wonderingly. 'Then I 'd think you 'd teach.'

"But we 'd have to live out West, in a little house, and without servants,' I

argued. I confess I was scared myself at the black picture I was able to paint.

"She called me a simpleton, or some such pet name, and insisted she 'd like the West. And then she called up the Dean, and told him that it was all settled, and we began right then to pack the china.

"Well, I 've liked it tremendously. You fellows pay me twice over for what was left. Someway we do n't miss things, and this rug is n't bad. Is it fellows? Though Josephine bought it in San Francisco for fifteen dollars.

"We 've got to get back to the heart of things after all. It is n't things, so much as people and ideals, that count."

"Lord," said McVey; it was n't an oath, but a prayer. "I see my way clear now. You 've shown me the road. What do you say, Bess?"

"Why, that I 've wanted it all the time," was the answer.

We did n't know then what it all meant, but we knew it was a tremendous thing, for the tears were in the Doctor's eyes as he said good-night, and as we stood a moment enjoying the moonlight on the red tiles of the old Quad we heard him say:

"Josephine, I never thought I 'd be paid like this. Why, it 's more than a hundred-fold. He 's my best man, the best I 've ever had, and he turns down a big corporation deal, and goes to help Satterley out with his work for the people."

WILMATTE PORTER COCKERELL.
Boulder, Colo.

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

ROBERT BROWNING: THE EAGLE-HEARTED POET OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

AMONG the men of genius and penetration who made the nineteenth century a period of awakening and of genuine growth, Robert Browning will ever hold a deservedly high place. As a philosopher he was preëminent. As a poet he possessed great power and virility, and in spite of obscurity and serious defects in his method of presentation, his message is one of the most important utterances of the greatest century in the history of civilization.

It is a melancholy fact that the message of genius is almost invariably ignored, disregarded or ridiculed and opposed when first delivered. The man endowed with a rich imagination and overmastered by idealism ascends the mountain and beholds that which is hidden from the people in the valley with eyes intent on the ground. He not only sees what is hidden from their sight, but he hears the voice of the Infinite. God comes very near to the child of genius who opens the windows of the soul that look toward the heights. With a broader vision of life, with a glad new word for the people, he descends as Moses of old descended from cloud-robed Sinai, only to behold the multitude absorbed in the worship of the golden calf,—that is, engrossed in sordid materialistic pursuits which exclude idealism and darken the windows that open toward the glory-clad peaks of spirituality. Nevertheless he delivers the message and awakens to the fact that either he has spoken in an unknown tongue or he has aroused the bitter animosity of the Scribes and Pharisees who assume the leadership of the conventional order.

In America, Emerson, one of the noblest thinkers and most clear-visioned ethical philosophers of the nineteenth century, aroused a storm of bitter opposition when he spoke and whenever he published words of light and leading; and when this serene and most lovable of men published his poems, even his own disciples looked coldly upon them, not merely because the great philosopher, absorbed in presenting mighty truths, had been more concerned with the thought than with its

robings, but because their eyes were not opened to the master lessons they contained. Yet these poems carried the most profoundly suggestive and helpful truths to be found in the writings of the Sage of Concord.

In Europe the same phenomenon was presented in even a more striking manner. Three of the greatest men of genius in the fields of literature and art of the last century were compelled to encounter a storm of merciless opposition from conventionalism and the popular critics before they conquered their place among the foremost thinkers of the age,—Victor Hugo in France, Richard Wagner in Germany, and Robert Browning in England. With Hugo the conflict was short, sharp and vigorous; but around the illustrious Frenchman the literary youths rallied, and there was in his innovations that which appealed to the imagination of the people, and made victory more certain than in the cases of the Shakespeare of music and the Plato of poetry. Again, neither Wagner nor Browning was willing to throw any sop to the Philistines. They both sacrificed beauty to strength, and both were deeply philosophical, possessing imaginations capable of sweeping a horizon far more extended than comes within the unaided intellectual vision of the general thinker. Thus these men had to conquer a place. They could hope for little sympathy, appreciation or even broad-visioned justice from critics accustomed to hard and fast rules, and to thoughts and ideals which at no time taxed the mediocre imagination.

The message of Robert Browning, like that of Richard Wagner, was marked by deep philosophic thought that called for sustained thinking, never pleasing to the many; and in the English poet's verse there is the concision or economy of expression and subjective rather than objective treatment of his themes that further detract from the popularity of his work. It is, however, a fact very significant of the rapid awakening going on in civilized lands that each of these great men above alluded to lived to see the

triumph of their work, and the scorn and ridicule that had long been aimed at them turned to enthusiastic appreciation, and in some instances to almost unqualified praise.

Before noticing Browning's writings, it is well to frankly recognize the fact that his splendid thought, so free and stimulating, can only be enjoyed by those who care enough for that which is high and morally and mentally invigorating to seriously study the poet. No thoughtful person can peruse Browning without being made better for the effort. The atmosphere of his writings suggests the mountain-peaks. In the presence of his thought the soul feels all the exhilaration that the body experiences when ascending some lofty peak, but, like mountain climbing, Browning calls for work and yields his treasures only to those who are willing to study him. It is to be regretted that there is often a degree of obscurity in his writings that discourages the general reader who will not dig deep enough to uncover the gold that lies in rich deposits.

In his delightful book, *The Best of Browning*,* Dr. Mudge emphasizes this fact in the following criticism of one of the poet's important creations which has proved a stumbling block to many eminent men who sincerely admire Browning:

"'Sordello,' for example,—and this, though probably the worst of its class, does not stand altogether alone,—has been called, with some degree of justice, 'a melancholy waste of human power,' 'a derelict upon the ocean of poetry,' 'a magnificent failure.' Tennyson—with whom Browning had the pleasantest of personal relations, dedicating to him one of his volumes with the words, 'In poetry illustrious and consummate, in friendship noble and sincere,'—tried to read 'Sordello,' and in bitterness of spirit declared that 'there were only two lines in it which he understood, and they were both lies' He referred to the opening and closing lines. 'Who will may hear Sordello's story told,' and 'Who would has heard Sordello's story told.' Carlyle said, 'My wife has read through "Sordello" without being able to make out whether Sordello was a man, a city, or a book.' M. Odysse Barot, in an article on this poem in a French magazine, quotes the poet as saying, 'God gave man

two faculties,' and adds, 'I wish, while He was about it, God had supplied another—the power to understand Mr. Browning.' Douglas Jerrold, when slowly convalescing from a serious illness, found among some new books sent him by a friend, a copy of 'Sordello.' A few lines put him in a state of alarm. Sentence after sentence brought no consecutive thought to his brain. At last the idea occurred to him that in his illness his mental faculties had been wrecked. The perspiration rolled from his forehead, and smiting his head he sank back upon the sofa, crying, 'O God, I am an idiot!' A little later, when his wife and sister entered, he thrust 'Sordello' into their hands, demanding what they thought of it. He watched them intently while they read. When at last Mrs. Jerrold remarked, 'I do n't understand what this man means; it is gibberish,' her delighted husband gave a sigh of relief and exclaimed, 'Thank God, I am not an idiot!'"

Like Plato, who is Greek to the flippant and shallow-minded who do not love to think, but who is a veritable mine of wealth to those of deeply philosophical and idealistic turn of mind, Browning is a never-failing source of delight and helpfulness to those who love that which is strong, virile and stimulating; that which taxes the intellect and feeds the spiritual aspirations; for he is preëminently the eagle-hearted poet among the great singers of the nineteenth century, the poet of freedom, faith and optimism. But his freedom is that of St. Paul rather than that of Marat; the freedom of the spiritually awakened one who has risen above the bondage of greed and selfishness. His faith is the conviction of a man who has dared to look all things in the face and who refuses to be the slave of dogmatism, tradition or ancient ideals that affront reason and man's sense of justice; while his optimism is the reverse of the miserable time-serving pseudo-optimism of those who to win the favor of the lords of the material vantage-grounds, seek to gloss over iniquity and divert the attention of the people from the deadly evils that are undermining the moral foundations of individual character and national greatness. Robert Browning ever dared to uncover wrong and iniquity and to unsparingly rebuke those who, like the pseudo-optimists of our time, are crying "Peace, peace!" in order to curry favor with the princes of privilege and

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the lords of the market. Do you question this? Then call to mind those lines of his on Wordsworth, written when the poet had been recreant to his high ideal and for an easy place and popular applause became an apostate to the things he had long championed. In all English poetry there is no more stinging rebuke than is found in "The Lost Leader," unless we except the terrible poem by Whittier entitled "Ichabod" which was penned when Webster became recreant to his high trust. It was of Wordsworth's apostacy, when the poet opposed such great measures as the Reform Bill, that Browning wrote:

"Just for a handful of silver he left us,
Just for a riband to stick in his coat—
Found the one gift of which fortune bereft us,
Lost all the others she lets us devote;
They, with the gold to give, doled him out silver,
So much was theirs who so little allowed:

We that had loved him so, followed him, honored him.

Lived in his mild and magnificent eye,
Learned his great language, caught his clear accents.

Made him our pattern to live and to die!
Shakespeare was of us, Milton was for us,
Burns, Shelley, were with us,—they watch from their graves!

He alone breaks from the van and the freemen,
—He alone sinks to the rear and the slaves!

"Blot out his name, then, record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more devils'-triumph and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!"

Browning appeared on the scene of public activity at a moment when the forces of freedom and progress were engaged in a fierce conflict with reactionary and class interests. The great democratic revolution had transformed the face of western civilization. The success of the American Revolution was followed by the overthrow of the old *régime* in France, and for a time it seemed that the old order in state, church and even in literature was doomed. But the excesses of the French Revolution followed by the imperial rule of Napoleon, the Concordat and other alliances that strengthened the arm of the enemies of democracy and liberty in the religious and thought worlds, gave new impetus to the reactionaries and all upholders of the old autocratic order and of classes or privileged interests. Everywhere these organized for aggressive warfare. In England

the battle was fought all along the line, for the democratic sentiment had already taken firm hold on the brain of the Anglo-Saxon world. In politics there was first the great Reform-Bill battle, followed by the Anti-Corn-Law campaign and the Chartist movement. Against these the reactionaries waged a battle marked by the greatest bitterness.

In religion the upheaval was no less marked. The Oxford Movement convulsed England. Newman and Manning fled to the sheltering arms of Rome to escape the great wave of liberalism that was permeating the church and striving to reconcile religious dogmas with reason, Christianity with the revelations of science. While Cardinal Newman was seeking a refuge in Rome, his brilliant brother was following his rationalistic leanings into the camp of the extreme liberals. And this ranging of brother against brother was typical of the conflicting order that obtained.

In literature romanticism was battling with reactionary classicism, while physical science, led by Spencer, Darwin and Wallace, was already in the thick of the fight with a wealth of new facts that were revolutionary in their potentiality.

From the hurly-burly of the hour, from the noise and tumult of the conflict, Tennyson turned to the legendary past and sang songs diverting the attention of the people from the conflict that was raging. In influence Tennyson was a reactionary rather than an aggressive force for progress, and his wonderfully beautiful verse, his rhythmic flow of words, exerted a far greater influence than many people imagined on the side of the old order.

"Tennyson," says Professor Genung, "appeasing the meditative reader by poetic fragrance, rhythm, imagery, music, or, not less potently, entering his ready memory by a wealth of finished inevitable phrase, makes him move obediently through a finely ordered poetic world as it were in the natural way of living; so that almost without conscious reaction his mind is impregnated, like the Lotos Eaters."

His influence, which Professor Genung thinks was valuable as a steadying power at the time, was, we believe, extremely unfortunate. If Tennyson had wrought as wrought Hugo and Shelley, Lowell and Whittier, on the side of democracy, social justice and freedom, it is probable that the promise of the middle part of the nineteenth century in England would have been splendidly fulfilled,

instead of the spectacle presented by the melancholy reaction and the spirit of commercialism and militarism that marked the closing decade of the century.

Unlike Tennyson, Browning's influence was thrown on the side of freedom, but, as we have observed, it was the spiritual freedom that makes for justice, peace and social righteousness, no less than the emancipation of the individual from the thralldom of all that holds the soul in bondage. And this spiritual freedom marks the man of robust faith and resolute devotion to duty's call. Browning, though never blind to the evil conditions to be uncovered and met, always saw beyond the seeming triumph of wrong in the present, witnessing the overthrow of evil and the triumph of right. There is no doubt, no shadow of doubt, in his mind as to the final outcome. It means victory. Man to him is a free agent. He has the right of choice; that is his high prerogative. But so long as he turns from the star to the clod, he is bound to suffer. Evil may dazzle and allure for the moment, but on its heels comes the bitterness that in time compels the real or essential man to understand that only in the spiritual realm are to be found the joy that carries no sting, the happiness that is unalloyed, the peace that passes understanding. In "Old Pictures in Florence" we find him saying:

"When a soul has seen
By means of evil that good is best,
And, through earth and its noise, what is heaven's
serene,—
When our faith in the same has stood the test,
Why, the child grown man, you burn the rod,
The uses of labor are surely done;
There remaineth a rest for the people of God."

What a fund of truth is crowded into these lines; how truly life's supreme pictures are presented. After the soul, in the freedom given it, drinks from evil and feels its hurt, it sooner or later is forced to see that good is best; the tempest-tossed spirit which vainly searches for rest and satisfaction in worldly pursuits is but the wayward child,—bent on its course and heedless of the counsels of wisdom,—which invites the heavy strokes which fall from the hand of fate. But at length this very discipline develops the man in the child, and the rod is no longer necessary; for the soul has, through bitter experience, found that from above and not below comes the peace that passes understanding—the

rest or serenity of heaven. In a word, the soul has learned that in goodness alone is found rest. So long as one dallies with evil trouble inevitably ensues. This supreme lesson must be learned by all sooner or later; and when learned the awakened spirit realizes the joy which comes only when one is in accord with the higher harmonies of life, the eternal spiritual law of growth.

In "The Ring and the Book" we find him saying:

"Why comes temptation but for man to meet
And master and make crouch beneath his foot,
And so be pedestalled in triumph?"

Like jewels of dew that deck the rose and the lily when they greet the Lord of Day are the fine, high thoughts that everywhere flash from Browning's verse. Here, for example:

"Then life is—to wake not sleep,
Rise and not rest, but press
From earth's level where blindly creep
Things perfected, more or less,
To the heaven's height, far and steep,

"Where, amid what strifes and storms
May wait the adventurous quest,
Power is Love—transports, transforms
Who aspired from worst to best,
Sought the soul's world, spurned the worm's."

"All 's love, yet all 's law."

"A people is but the attempt of many
To rise to the completer life of one;
And those who live as models for the mass
Are singly of more value than they all."

"There shall never be one lost good! What was,
shall live as before;
The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying
sound;
What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so
much good more;
On earth the broken arcs; in the heaven a perfect
round."

"Blame I can bear though not blameworthiness."

To Browning all that is necessary. That is, the law of freedom leaves each man with his problem to work out. We may help him, we may surround him with the environment that will best foster his advance and that is best calculated to open his eyes, and we, as individuals, and collectively, as society or the nation, are bound by the inescapable obligations imposed on us to do this to the utmost or to suffer for recreancy to our trust. Yet we can go but a certain length. We cannot make the man see who refuses to open his eyes. We can tell him of the beauty on every hand, but so long as he

prefers the dark to the light the glory will not break on his gaze. It is precisely so with the one who refuses to see the beauty of spiritual things; the one who is joined to the idols of materiality. It is only after the iron enters the soul, only after, one by one, he is forced to see and feel the ephemeral and unsatisfactory character of all things of sense, that he, like the prodigal in the far country, comes to himself and turns to that which satisfies the inner cravings of the soul.

Like Mazzini, Browning ever strove to show that duty is divine. Ever he sought to impress the importance of having a high aim, a lofty ideal, and of being faithful to the vision. On one occasion he exclaims:

"The aim, if reached or not, makes great the life;
Try to be Shakespeare, leave the rest to Fate."

At another time he exclaims:

"Aspire, break bounds! I say,
Endeavor to be good, and better still,
And best! Success is naught, endeavor 's all."

"No duty patent in the world
Like daring try be good and true myself,
Leaving the shows of things to the Lord of Show
And Prince o' the Power of the Air."

He was a man of great breadth or catholicity of spirit and was absolutely fearless in quest of truth; yet no Victorian poet had more unshakable faith in God or in the wisdom and sanity of the moral order that upholds all things, than he. "God's in His heaven; all 's right with the world"—this is one of the key-notes of his message.

"Let one more attest,
I have lived, seen God's hand through a lifetime,
And all was for best.
This world 's no blot for us, nor blank;
It means intensely, and means good."

Browning held that life here and hereafter was much the same, except that the horizon ever broadened and the stage of activity and the opportunities presented are greater than before. This thought is thus touched upon in "Old Pictures in Florence":

"There 's a fancy some lean to and others hate,—
That, when this life is ended, begins
New work for the soul in another state,
Where it strives and gets weary, loses and wins;
Where the strong and the weak, this world's
congeries,
Repeat in large what they practiced in small,
Through life after life in unlimited series;
Only the scale 's to be changed, that 's all."

The poems of "Saul" and "Rabbi Ben Ezra" are richly worthy of study. To us "Rabbi Ben Ezra" is one of the finest short creations of Robert Browning. It represents life as richest in its eventide. Man is not the soulless beast, else the middle period men call the prime of life would be its most glorious hour. No, the soul is the essential man; and so, rich in spiritual gain that comes with material loss, the victor moves toward the morning land with the stately tread of one who feels within himself that he is worthily approaching the throne-room of the Infinite. The poem represents the aged Rabbi conversing with a young friend. The opening stanza is so instinct with the "chastened gravity" and the sweetness of wise old age that it sings itself into the heart:

'Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made:
Our times are in His hand
Who saith, 'A whole I planned,
Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor
be afraid.'"

Youth is a time of hope and doubt, but the wise man does not look with disfavor on honest doubts that flit as clouds across the shining face of day.

"Rather I prize the doubt
Low kinds exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a
spark."

The dead thing knows no doubt. The presence of faith and doubt, of hope, aspiration and yearning for the better and the best, is the sign-manual of man's divine nature. While the clod rests inert, and while the dumb beasts move through life untroubled by a doubt or unstirred by an aspiration, man is driven onward and upward. "The fiend that man harries," says Emerson in his wonderful poem, "The Sphinx," "is Love of the Best."

Next the wise Rabbi exclaims:

"Poor vaunt of life indeed,
Were man but formed to feed
On joy, to solely seek and find and feast;
Such feasting ended, then
As sure an end to men."

If the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh and the pride of life, or the things which the material world can offer, were all man aspired to, then vain would be the promise of an ever-broadening day for the child of earth. But "a spark disturbs our clod," and it is a sign of

man's high origin that his deepest joy comes from giving rather than receiving. Moreover, it is by rebuffs and stings of life, the throes we pass through, that the soul gains its strength. Even though at times we fail, if we aspire and our ideals are high, we are lifted by the "love of the Best":

"What I aspired to be,
And was not, comforts me."

"Let us not always say,
'Spite of this flesh to-day
I strove, made head, gained ground upon the
whole!"
As the bird wings and sings,
Let us cry, 'All good things
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more, now, than
flesh helps soul!"

How fine and suggestive the thought here given!

The poet closes his lines with a figurative picture of life as the clay which the Divine Potter on the wheel of Time is moulding into a chalice for divine service:

" . . . All that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee,
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay
endure."

The Rabbi Ben Ezra was an historical character, born in Toledo about 1090. He resided, however, chiefly in Italy and England and died in 1168. "He was distinguished as philosopher, astronomer, physician and poet, also as grammarian and commentator" on the Old Testament. The philosophy contained in the poem was that of the poet Browning no less than of the wise old Rabbi.

As we would naturally expect, death had no terrors for Robert Browning. On one occasion, when speaking of it to a friend, he exclaimed:

"Death! It is this harping on death I despise so much; this idle and often cowardly as well as ignorant harping. Why should we not change like everything else? Death is life, just as our daily, our momentarily dying body is none the less alive, and ever recruiting new forces of existence. Without death, which is our crape-like, churchyard word for change,

for growth, there could be no prolongation of that which we call life. For myself, I deny death as an end of anything. Never say of me that I am dead."

Browning's life was a beautiful complement to his message. It was clean, strong, manly and true. In his last poem, the Epilogue to "Asolando," which was penned a short time before his death, he wrote some words that applied strikingly to his own life, and by a happy chance he confessed to those nearest and dearest to him that they were in a sense a personal statement. He read the proof of the poem to his daughter-in-law and his sister; then he exclaimed, after reading the following lines: "It almost looks like bragging to say this, and as if I ought to cancel it; but it's the simple truth, and, as it's true, it shall stand."

"What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly.
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel,
Being—who?
One who never turned his back, but marched breast
forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong
would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

Robert Browning was at once a philosopher, a poet and a seer. His inspiration was from the higher spheres of spiritual truth, and therefore it touches, stimulates and quickens on the higher plane of emotion. He who has the time to study and assimilate Browning will find himself being lifted into a nobler intellectual atmosphere. Life will mean something august, something that can only be measured by eternity, something that must develop in conformity with great and unchangeable laws. He will come to see that every noble thought or deed places him nearer in harmony with the currents of spiritual progress which sweep the soul onward and upward, and that every ignoble thought, every base desire, every unworthy act dwarfs the soul and retards his advance. He will come to see that anything short of living a life of love, justice, high-mindedness and loyalty to all that is best in his being will fail to bring to his soul abiding peace, serenity and joy.

B. O. FLOWER.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE BLIGHT OF WALL-STREET HIGH FINANCE.

The Proposed Tax on Wall-Street Gambling.

REPRESENTATIVE HEPBURN, Chairman of the Committee on Interstate Commerce of the National House of Representatives, advocates a law to so tax Wall-street gambling as to discourage the mania that is imperiling the business interests of the nation. He says:

"I regard it as most desirable that the taxing power of the Government should be used to prevent gambling in railroad stocks by taxing all sales where delivery is not made within such reasonable time as to indicate that the transaction was *bona fide* and not for speculation.

"So long as there is buying and selling on margins and without the intention of actual delivery of the stock, speculation will absorb the resources of the banks and take money from legitimate enterprises which need it. Stock speculators pay high rates for money, and their efforts are so attractive to the city banks that the banks are induced to make loans outside the channels of legitimate business. This not only tends to involve the banks in speculation but it withdraws the money from legitimate business enterprises."

Wall-street gambling is, we believe, one of the most morally demoralizing curses in the nation to-day. It is one of the chief factors in making the American people a nation of gamblers and in filling the minds of the young men with dreams of wealth by acquisition instead of by honest toil, that is sweeping every year vast multitudes along a current that leads to ruin. Wall street is the home or citadel of an army of respectable moral criminals who make money without any value behind it, or who make money out of the taxing power which monopoly and corrupt influence in politics enable the few to exercise over the millions. The stock-watering iniquity, one of the gravest moral crimes permitted in any nation, has its throne and center among the gamblers and predatory chiefs of Wall street.

Great Gamblers Who Play With Stacked Cards.

Wall street moreover, is the center of the

most iniquitous and immoral practices known even to the gamblers' world. Here for years a few men have at intervals systematically played with loaded dice. They have arranged a bull or bear market weeks and even months ahead, carefully getting the stock they intend to gamble with into the exact condition they desire. They have systematically deceived the people by misleading rumors, articles and published statements, and they have on occasion used the great banking interests in such a way as to further their diabolical plans. The last great raid made by the late Jay Gould on Wall street, no less than the story of Black Friday, furnishes a typical example of what has time and again transpired in the Street, where a few masterful men have entered the Street to play a game in which the element of uncertainty was practically eliminated in so far as they were concerned. In the instance to which we allude it was stated that Mr. Gould emerged from the raid with over three million more dollars than he had when he precipitated it. It was also stated that for months prior to this event Mr. Gould had been actively preparing for his premeditated incursion. He placed a number of valuable securities in various banks. He began a systematic newspaper campaign for the purpose of deceiving the unwary and exciting the cupidity of the victims that should be lured into his trap. He provided against defeat in every direction. He, so to speak, stacked the cards. Then he made his raid, and at the moment when he wished to make the bottom drop out he suddenly withdrew his securities from the banks, so that the financial insittutions were almost thrown into a panic and were afraid to extend credit. What mattered it to the man who was the master-spirit in the great crime that marked Black Friday that suicides and failures followed in the wake of this incursion as in a far greater degree they followed Black Friday? He had acquired millions of *unearned* dollars much of which was destined to be squandered by a degenerate *roué* of Paris. This exploit is typical of what has been going on for years in Wall street.

The Nation-Wide Blight of America's Monte Carlo.

But these iniquities are by no means all the evils that flow from the American Monte Carlo. One has only to call to mind the amazing revelations made in the insurance investigation to see how the savings of the millions, paid often only after great personal privations that loved ones might be provided for at the death of those who were the support of the home, were made the plaything of the most reckless and irresponsible set of gamblers and financial buccaneers who disgrace present-day civilization, notwithstanding they hold high seats in the church and on occasion preach integrity and morality and indulge in religious cant. It is an undeniable fact that since the rise of Wall-street gambling and the feudalism of privileged wealth to the position of a dominating influence in the worlds of business and politics there has been a rapid decline in the moral idealism of the people. A vicious shallow opportunism has taken the place of fidelity to the fundamental principles of morality and the question, "Will it pay?" meaning, "Will it be of material advantage?" is often heard where in olden days the question was, "Is it just, fair or for the best interests of the people?"

Wall-street Gambling Worse Than That of the Louisiana Lottery.

A few years ago a general outcry was raised against the Louisiana lottery, in which great New York dailies, that could not be induced to open a fearless and aggressive battle against Wall-street gambling, not only joined, but led the attack. Through the action of the Government, the press and public opinion, the lottery evil was driven from the land; and yet the Louisiana lottery was nothing in its evil influence compared with Wall street. In the first place, the lottery was conducted fairly. There was no stacking cards or loading dice. In the second place it did not imperil the great legitimate business interests of the land, as does Wall street, in a manner fearful to contemplate.

How Wall street Imperils The Legitimate Business of The Nation.

Of late years Wall street gamblers have become one of the greatest, if not indeed the greatest menace to the legitimate business of the nation. They have been steadily drawing the banks into the demoralizing vortex of the Street in such a way that they have been able to

carry forward their wild-cat and frenzied financial program by securing money from banks that should have kept their funds at home for legitimate business purposes. An example of this will illustrate what we have in mind. A few months ago we were in conversation with some gentlemen, one of whom was a prominent business man of Boston, and in the course of our discussion the influence of Wall-street high finance on legitimate trade was touched upon, when the gentleman of large business transactions stated that one Boston bank kept some millions of dollars at interest in Wall street, because the financiers of Wall street would pay three or four times the interest that legitimate business could give for the use of the money. Thus, he said, when men needing credit for the proper development of their legitimate business go to the bank, they are denied the loan they need on the ground that the bank is too short of funds to accommodate them. They are short of funds for legitimate business only because the money is being used by the Wall-street gamblers who pay an enormous interest for it.

Now the result of this evil condition must impress every honest and thoughtful business man. It serves to paralyze the great current of legitimate trade, and it places the money of the banks in jeopardy, so that when there is a gamblers' panic, as was the recent Wall-street panic, the banks in the metropolis and in other large centers of wealth, and the tributary banks of the great New York City banking firms are instantly struck in a vital way, and business from the Atlantic to the Pacific suffers. And with the business suffering comes, as is always the case, increased suffering on the part of the wealth-creating millions of the land.

The New York World on Taxing The Gamblers.

The New York *World* of November 19th, in commenting on Congressman Hepburn's remarks quoted above, said:

"For three weeks and more legitimate business has been bled white in order that ready cash could be provided to keep the Wall-street gambling game in operation. Yesterday, after the United States Treasury had again taken decisive steps to increase the volume of currency, one of the earliest proofs of the 'new restoration of confidence' came in the announcement that Stock Exchange brokers 'took off restrictions as to margin trading.'

"If Wall-street gambling is such a prosper-

ous business that even in a period of great depression it can outbid legitimate commerce and industry for the use of money, it is prosperous enough to pay a tax to the Federal Government. It can at least help pay the interest on bonds issued by the Treasury to provide more money."

We believe the day is not far distant when the moral criminals of Wall street will be driven from the temple of business life or into the penitentiary. We trust that the day is at hand when the American people will awaken from their lethargic sleep into which the corporation-controlled press and other public opinion-forming agencies have lulled them, so

that they will insist that the man who makes fictitious dollars by watering stock, either for the purpose of robbing others by false pretences or to enable him by virtue of monopoly power to levy an extortionate tax on industry, be shown as little leniency as the highway robber or the embezzler. And we hope that the time will soon arrive when the religious sentiment of America shall be so awakened that gambling with loaded dice or stacked cards by Wall-street magnates will come to be regarded as much a crime as the far fairer methods of gambling long practiced by the Louisiana lottery, against which the religious sentiment of the country was one of the most potent factors.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION AND THE MAINTENANCE OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT.

IN CONSIDERING the Federal Constitution in relation to present needs, it is of paramount importance that we keep in mind the fundamental distinction between popular government such as was conceived by the author of the Declaration of Independence, and class-rule, or rather, the different relation sustained by the officials of the government to the people. In a popular government or a truly representative democratic republic, the people are the sovereigns and the officials are the servants of the electorate. In a class government the officials hold toward the people the position of masters, whether they rule primarily for their own selfish interests and aggrandizement or as servants of some privileged class or interest which they serve or in reality represent.

Now so long as conditions obtained wherein our government was truly representative of the wishes and interests of the people, so long as the public servant understood his position as that of one delegated to carry out the wishes of the people who sent him to represent them, there was no need for change or modification of constitutional provisions. But during the past fifty years great privileged interests have gained a sinister hold on government, acting through political bosses and the money-controlled machine—a hold that has steadily changed the character of government in its practical operations while maintaining the old popular form; and with this change has come a

steady change in the attitude of officials. Presidents, United States Senators, judges and others arrogate to themselves powers not consistent with their position on the one hand as public servants, and on the other as exercising duties within specific limitations. Thus we find presidents and department officials under the Chief Executive making rulings that in effect are laws, to achieve that which the Congress of the United States, or the constitutional law-making body, has refused to enact, where it was known that certain measures desired by the Executive could not be carried through Congress. One example of this nature was the arbitrary ruling of the Post-Office Department in regard to publishers' rights, which Congress had time and again refused to enact even when the department desired it to do so. Another example was the famous Order No. 78 issued by the Department of the Interior, Bureau of Pensions, in 1904, under the direction of the President of the United States, enacting legislation in regard to pensions which Congress had declined to pass. These are typical examples of executive usurpations in recent years in which officials have not only assumed powers not their right as public servants, without any specific order from the people, but in which they have also invaded the domain of a coördinate division of government.

Judges, who in many instances have long served as corporation counsels and who,

largely through the influence of corporate interests, have been appointed to the bench, have time and again made rulings and used the injunction power in a manner which, though thoroughly satisfactory to the privileged interests which they have long served and which were so anxious for them to be elevated to the bench, is opposed to the spirit of our government and the rights of the people, and in some instances to the clearly-defined protective provisions of the Constitution. Who does not remember the injunctions forbidding persons even giving food to strikers; the injunctions prohibiting citizens from peaceably marching on the highways; the injunctions in the interests of railways that nullify State laws passed to protect the rights and interests of the people? These are typical examples of the arrogation of autocratic power by officials at the present time resulting from the rise of and, to a large extent, the domination of government by, privileged interests acting through the money-controlled political machines.

Another typical example of this changed attitude on the part of public servants, that is destructive to popular government and which illustrates how in practice the Government is ceasing to be popular or truly representative of the people, was in evidence last winter when a majority of the members of the Massachusetts Legislature, after having pledged themselves if elected to vote for a Public Opinion Bill that would give the people the small privilege of letting the legislators know the desires of the electorate on four questions at each election, were prevented from carrying out their pledge by United States Senator Lodge and the party machine which he so completely controls. This Public Opinion Bill did not even give the electorate the power to direct their servants, as was the order in the old days in Massachusetts and as it is their undoubted right to do if the official is the representative or servant of his principals, but merely provided that the voters could indicate their desires on four questions at each election. Surely no believer in popular government, however conservative, could object to this. There were, however, two bodies in the Commonwealth that did object—two bodies that are destroying popular government as effectively as did the Di Medici family of Florence overthrow the republic of that city, without in any manner interfering with the old form of government. These sinister elements were the political boss and his

lieutenants who operate the money-controlled political machine, and the great campaign-contributing public-service companies and other privileged corporations whose interests are frequently diametrically opposed to the public interest or weal; and in the behalf of these reactionary and unrepresentative interests Senator Henry Cabot Lodge appeared before the Legislature and urged the representatives not to pass the bill. One of the chief claims which the opposition made was that it would be degrading to the legislators to take suggestions from the electorate,—that is, that the representative should not feel himself bound to represent his principal; and all the power of the political machine of the state, of which the Senator is the master spirit, was thrown in a desperate attempt to defeat the bill, with the result that many of the representatives who had promised to support the measure were false to their pledge, after the autocrat of the party machine insisted that the measure should not be enacted.

Here we have representatives of the new reactionary and unrepresentative order in three departments of government either usurping functions belonging to other departments or acting in such a way as to defeat popular government. It is therefore clearly important that changes be made in the Constitution in order to meet the changed conditions that have arisen, to the end that free government may not be completely overthrown and class-rule permanently established in the Republic.

The Constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780, contained a Bill of Rights drawn up by the leading citizens of the Commonwealth and adopted by these citizens in a vote of 250 to 1, expressly asserting that the people have the right to give instructions to their representatives. This provision of the Bill of Rights was written by John Adams, who was afterwards President of the United States.

Switzerland, half a century ago appreciated the peril of encroaching privileged interests and great wealth, which already was menacing free government, and her statesmen set about providing practical measures for the preservation of the government to the people. The initiative and referendum was the result, with the right of recall in certain cases. Oregon and other American commonwealths have followed the eminently practical example of Switzerland with perfectly successful results.

Here, surely, is a change imperatively demanded to bulwark and preserve free government.

Again, nothing is more potentially destructive of free government than life or long term appointments of officials from whose opinions there is no appeal. Give a class of officials life terms, have them appointed and not elected, and endow them with autocratic power from whose decision even the people themselves have no more appeal than from the ukase of a Czar, and you have at hand all the machinery necessary to destroy popular government, so soon as a powerful plutocracy or any privileged interest can gain actual control of the government, so that, standing behind the appointing power, it can indicate the selection of the officials in question.

Now this is the condition that confronts us

to-day, and the circumstance that the power of corporate wealth operating through the money-controlled machine is as yet in its infancy largely accounts for the fact that the aggressions of the judiciary have not been more marked; but the sinister usurpation of power in the interests of corporate wealth alluded to, and many similar instances where judicial power has been abused, show the extreme peril to republican institutions in the present crisis.

The judiciary must be elected, not appointed, and thus be made responsive to the people and not to the campaign-contributing feudalism of privileged wealth. And the judges must hold office for a term of years instead of enjoying life tenure, if the government is to be preserved to the people as a free government or a truly representative democratic republic.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF THE HOUR.

SELDOM since the period immediately preceding the Protestant Reformation has the Christian world presented such striking contrasts in the attitude of the church toward social conditions and the exercise of man's reasoning power, that has done so much in leading humanity from darkness, ignorance and superstition into the light of present civilization. On the one hand we of America have in recent years beheld an ominous moral stagnation in the church, especially noticeable in its attitude toward the life that now is and the duty of making the ethics of the Golden Rule of binding force on those who claim to follow the Nazarene. In the place of the splendid aggressive moral enthusiasm that marked the ministry of Wesley and Whitefield, we find in the great church that Wesley founded, such spectacles as the reverend gentleman who is the chancellor of a university fed by Standard Oil wealth, blatantly denouncing the President of the United States for his effort to enforce the law against the great law-breakers whose guilt has been established, and the former reverend gentleman who was chancellor of the Denver University, but who now by grace of an unspeakably malodorous corporation-controlled machine is governor of Colorado, appearing as defender

of men of the Guggenheim and Boss Evans stripe.

What is true of the Methodist church and leading lights in that denomination in regard to their attitude toward the people in the presence of the spoilers who have bribed church and college with a moiety of their plunder, is equally true of the Baptist, the Congregationalist and other denominations. Wherever tainted gold has been accepted from the known law-breakers, the baleful influence has been apparent in church and school; nor could it be otherwise.

Again, we behold the head of the great Roman Church seeking to prohibit the millions of his faith from even reading the profoundly religious thoughts of the great liberal Catholic divines. This effort to place the God-given reason under lock and key and thus resurrect the spirit of the Dark Ages is only equalled by the moral anaesthesia of the church due to its lust for gold.

Happily, this is but one side of the picture. On every hand to-day are seen signs of a new spiritual birth. Two great religious movements are appearing above the horizon. The idealistic church movement, of which Christian Science is the great representative, is exercising a vital influence on hundreds of thousands of men and women; while the

great liberal yet profoundly religious movement represented by the apostles of higher criticism and vital religious thought, of which Professor Pfeiderer is the most eminent leader in Germany, Rev. R. J. Campbell of the City Temple the most prominent exponent in Great Britain, Rev. Algernon S. Crapsey a leader in America, and Professor Masaryk of the University of Prague at least measurably a representative in Austria, is appealing with new and surprising virility to the conscience of a large class of earnest-minded men and women who are weary of the husks of a theology far more concerned with material advancement and outward forms than with the essential soul of religion. All of these men realize that Christianity must concern itself in a vital way with the life that now is; that it must take hold of the heart in such a way as to transform life and to bring man to the realization of the law of solidarity and the responsibility which it implies. Most of these leaders therefore bravely insist that the church must become a great aggressive power for fostering the spirit of brotherhood and coöperation; an active exponent of social justice and moral idealism in society, and in this way embody the spirit that was present in the daily ministry no less than in the ethical teachings of Jesus. This new social concept is voiced by the leaders of the religious renaissance that promises to become such a real power on both sides of the Atlantic and which is one of the most hopeful signs of our time. It is perhaps nowhere better voiced than in the following words by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, M.A., of the City Temple of London, in the Preface to his recently published volume, *New Theology Sermons*:

"If," says Mr. Campbell, in speaking of the church, "she were true to her Master's mind she could have no truce with a social order in which the weak have to go to the wall and cruelty and oppression are inevitable. She ought not to be patching up the present social fabric, but laboring to replace it by a better. The social work which is being done by the Churches at present is no doubt of great value in brightening the lives of the poor and giving them a helping hand, but for the most part it does not go to the root of the matter: our whole industrial life to-day is based upon a principle which is fundamentally anti-Christian, and the Church of Jesus ought to wage open war upon it until it is gone forever. Coöperation must replace competition; brotherhood must replace individualism; the weakest (morally and physically) must be the objects of the tenderest care which the community can show; selfishness must be driven out by love. This is the whole Christian program; nothing less than this represents the mind of Jesus, and nothing other than this ought ever to have been preached in His name. It is quite simple and clear, and yet it is plain to all the world that the Church has somehow got so far away from it that the masses of the people have ceased to understand that she ever held it."

These words ring true. They are instinct with the spirit of true religion. If they became the dominant note in the religious teachings and expression of life, Christianity would soon be a great conquering moral force, scattering the seeds of enduring civilization along her pathway, because wherever she trod the flowers of justice and love would bloom in luxuriant profusion.

JUSTICE BREWER ON THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM AS A SAFEGUARD AGAINST DESPOTISM AND MOB RULE.

NO MORE important utterance has been delivered in the United States in recent months than that made by Justice David Brewer of the United States Supreme Court, when in his address on "Public Service in Relation to Public Opinion," delivered on November 20th in New York City, as reported by the *Washington Herald*, he said that the two supreme dangers that menaced a demo-

cratic state were despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other, and continuing observed:

"The more constant and universal the voice of the people, the nearer the approach to an ideal government.

"Initiative and referendum make public opinion the quality controlling. The more promptly and more fully public officers carry

into effect such public opinion the more truly is government of and by the people realized."

Justice Brewer's observations on this point of course are not new, but the value of his views lies in the fact that he is considered by general consent, we believe, the ablest constitutional jurist on the Supreme Bench. That this great jurist recognizes that the safe and sure preventive of the great dangers that threaten republican government,—that is, of despotism on the one hand and mob rule on the other—is to be found in the adoption by the people of Direct-Legislation, is a matter of first importance and is precisely the position long taken by THE ARENA,—a position that in the nature of the case is logically obvious and which in practical operation has in every instance proved to be destructive to class-rule and an absolute preventive of the menace of mob-rule; for where the power to right errors or wrongs

is in the hands of the people, and can be operated in an orderly and legal manner, there is no longer the slightest incentive for mob-rule, while the slow, orderly educational methods which characterize the initiative and referendum necessarily make them wise safeguards to popular rule and general educators of the people. Indeed, under Direct-Legislation the people are at school continually in practical political economy and the science of government.

The most encouraging sign of our day is the steady growth of the sentiment in favor of Direct-Legislation. The people are coming to see that here and here alone lies the road to perpetual popular rule and the chief effective method of deliverance from the political debauchery and misgovernment due to boss-rule and the corruption and oppression incident to the domination of privileged interests over popular rights.

THE PLUNDER OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT BY OUR RAILWAYS, OUR GREATEST NATIONAL SCANDAL.

PERHAPS it is too much to expect any popular relief from the outrageous robbery of the people by the railways, as practiced in the carrying of the mails, so long



Opfer, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

MONOPOLY POLICE NOW USING TRAINED DOGS.
Sagacious animals prove great assistance to officers! Show almost human intelligence!

as Speaker Cannon occupies the position he holds; but in view of the coming presidential and congressional election, a persistent and determined attempt should be made on the part of all friends of honest government and public morality, to at least in part remedy this demoralizing waste. It is not as if the facts were not known or as if there were any question as to the main points at issue. The crying scandal has been circumstantially exposed year after year, and the evil would in all probability have been at least partially remedied at the last session, if the people had had a Speaker intent on popular interests and clean and honest government, instead of the trust truckler, Cannon, in the place of vantage; for the special committee, in obedience to the amazing facts presented and uncontroverted, and in compliance with the popular demand that the robbery be stopped, cut off twelve million dollars from the appropriation. The Speaker, however, who was so vigilant in his fight in favor of the beef trust, allowed the railroad rogues to get in their work, and the graft was not interfered with. No wonder the railroads, the express companies and the trusts love their dear

"Uncle Joe," but the time has come for the American people to let the tools of corruption and extortion in Congress know that they will be relegated to private life in the coming campaign, in spite of princely campaign contributions from the grafters, if this year they fail to see that Congress rights this infamous wrong.

The main facts of the railway robbery, by which the Post-Office department is every year made to show a deficit, when, if the railways received no more favors than the express companies for like service the department would show a handsome annual profit, have been given from time to time in the pages of THE ARENA; but an editorial in the New York *American* of December 11th is so admirable that we quote it entire in order to refresh the minds of our readers on this important question. We suggest that every subscriber to THE ARENA write his congressman urging him to make an aggressive fight for the elimination of the railway graft from the postal contracts at this session. In this editorial, entitled "End the Railway Mail Graft," the *American* says:

"The report of Postmaster-General Meyer shows that the deficit in his department during the past year was only \$6,653,282. If the last Congress had acted on the advice of its special committee and had cut off something like \$12,000,000 from the railway mail graft, the Post-Office Department would now not only be on a paying basis, but would have a surplus of over \$5,000,000 a year, and would be in a condition soon to establish penny postage.

"Twelve million dollars by no means represents the full amount lost by the Government annually on its mail-carrying contracts. Careful investigation into the fifty millions paid to the roads each year by the Post-Office Department leads to the conclusion that at least twenty millions of that amount represent graft. But the railroad agents in Congress defeated even the twelve million cut. By points of order and legislative legerdemain

the House machine perpetuated this proved and acknowledged fraud, although it did not dare defend it in the open.

"The dishonest practice of weighing the mails for seven days and dividing by six to strike an average is well known. In this way the roads are paid for nearly fifteen per cent. more mail than they carry. Another method of mulcting the Government is the charging as an annual rental on post-office cars an amount twice as great as would be required to build them new. These are but two items among a large number of discovered frauds.



Bengough, in *The Public*, Chicago.

THE CUMBERER OF THE GROUND; OR THE
ESSENCE OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST
QUESTION.

To live without labor means that one must live by the labor of others. This is the motive of privilege. It is the instinct of monopoly. It is the meaning of protective tariffs, of railway, franchise, and mining grants, of land monopoly, of subsidies, of indirect taxes upon consumption, of unjust taxation in any form. It is the lust for something for nothing that makes the House of Lords and the United States Senate instinctively obstacles to democracy.—FREDERIC C. HOWE, of Ohio.

"Now that Congress is again in session and a new post-office appropriation bill is to be passed, the railroad representatives in the two Houses will attempt to saddle this steal on the country as heretofore. Against that dishonest design an emphatic public protest should be raised without delay. The railway mail graft is the worst enemy of postal progress now in existence, and should be ended once and for all."

THE PITIABLE FLIGHT OF THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT,
WITH NO STATESMAN AT ITS HEAD IN THE HOUR
OF NATIONAL PERIL.

WE DO NOT doubt but what Mr. Cortelyou was an excellent stenographer, nor that as a private secretary this suave, smooth-spoken and politic man was admirably suited for the purposes of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt. As a fat-fryer who knew how to inspire the confidence of the great Wall street gamblers so well that he was able to get princely contributions for Mr. Roosevelt from the high financiers and the corporation chiefs, at the very time when the President was pretending to be opposed to the corporations and was denouncing the democratic nominee for declaring that Mr. Cortelyou was getting aid from corporate interests, he demonstrated that he was a worthy successor to Matt Quay and Mark Hanna. But granting his competency as a stenographer, his success as a suave and politic private secretary, and his conspicuous aptitude for inspiring the confidence of the great gamblers and corporation chiefs who are exploiting the millions of America for the abnormal enrichment of the few, there is no evidence to show that he was especially fitted to be the financial secretary or head of the national treasury department. Indeed, the fact that he is so popular in Wall street

and with the privilege-seeking and parasite classes that are striving so industriously to get the great business interests so completely into their own power as to control the country by their threat of commercial disaster if their arrogant demands are not acceded to, should have disqualified him for the important position, even though he had an hundred-fold more statesmanship and knowledge of finance, economics and the true needs of the nation than there is any reason to believe he possesses.

But President Roosevelt, in his apparent desire to continue to play fast and loose for personal and political advantage, to curry the favor of the Wall street gamblers and predatory interests on the one hand, so he could count upon secret campaign funds from predatory wealth while pretending to be fighting the people's battles on the other, gave this vitally important position to the intimate friend of Wall street gamblers and the corporation interests that had contributed so liberally to the last Republican campaign fund; just as he selected the man who had been the most efficient counsel and handyman for such characters as Tweed and Ryan and for various malodorous corporations that have long exploited the people, to serve at the head of the State Department, and just as he selected the man who was one of the greatest towers of strength to the railroads when a judge and who is the best beloved of all the prominent politicians in America by the organization that is waging a relentless war on labor unions, to be the Secretary of the Navy and the one ostensibly favored by the Administration as the President's successor. Of all the members of the Cabinet in Mr. Roosevelt's official family, it is probably true that Mr. Cortelyou is the most astute politician, but it is equally probable that he is the least of a statesman. To have a man of Mr. Cortelyou's record as a fat-fryer as the only wall of protection between the millions of American wealth-creators and representatives of honest industry and the J. Pierpont Morgan, Baker, Standard Oil



Berryman, in Washington Star.



From Philadelphia North American.

UNCLE SAM—"FINE WHEELS YOU MADE FOR THIS MACHINE!"

and other great Wall street interests, is something that must disturb and alarm all friends of free institutions and the best interests of legitimate business and the honest creators of wealth.

The New York *World* is too much in sympathy with reaction and privileged wealth to be accused of being biased in favor of progressive democracy and popular rights, yet even this reactionary journal, which as industriously seeks to discredit Mr. Bryan, Tom L. Johnson and other representative Democrats as it enthusiastically supported Alton B. Parker, the candidate of the Belmont-Ryan faction, balks at Mr. Cortelyou and points out some facts in relation to his position that merit the consideration of all thinking Americans of every party. In an editorial leader entitled "Wanted—A Statesman," which appeared on November 25th, the *World* in referring to the Secretary of the Treasury's amazing bond issue said:

"Representative Charles N. Fowler, of New Jersey, Chairman of the House Committee on Banking and Currency, describes Secretary Cortelyou's new bond issue as 'surprising, extraordinary, unwarranted and most unfortunate.' So far as the \$100,000,000 of Treasury certificates is concerned, Mr. Fowler believes the issue is illegal.

"This opinion from the recognized financial authority of the House of Representatives can only increase public perplexity as to why Mr. Cortelyou is where he is. In its immediate effect upon the public welfare the office of Secretary of the Treasury is the most important in the Cabinet. In a financial crisis its importance towers above that of all the other Cabinet positions combined.

"Practically all of President Roosevelt's predecessors recognized it as an office which required unusual qualifications and the widest experience. To appreciate how little Mr. Cortelyou's training as stenographer, private secretary and personal appointé has fitted him for the extremely delicate and responsible position he holds it is necessary to call the roll of previous Secretaries of the Treasury."

The *World* then enumerates a number of great statesmen who served as heads of the treasury department, including Alexander Hamilton, Albert Gallatin, Salmon P. Chase, Hugh McCullough, George S. Boutwell, and Benjamin H. Bristow. Indeed, until the feudalism of privileged wealth gained a master influence in government, statesmen of distinguished ability were chosen to head the treasury department, and never bankers or representatives of the special class that was constantly seeking special privileges from the government which would give them advantage over the people and other business interests, or fat-frying campaign collectors.

The innovation made in selecting bankers and national committeemen to head the treasury department has been one of the most sinister indications of the rapid passing of the scepter of power from the people to privileged wealth.

Turning from the enumeration of past secretaries of the treasury to Mr. Cortelyou, the *World* continues:



From the Chicago News.

HERO MORGAN TAKES A SOUVENIR—
After helping put the fire out.



Bradley, in Chicago News.

AFTER THE RUSH JOB.

REASSURED DEPOSITOR—"This is all right, Mr. President, but you might have used that one over there and saved yourself a lot of trouble."

"Mr. Cortelyou never held an elective office in his life. He never served in any legislative body. His public experience has been entirely clerical. If he has any practical knowledge of law, of political economy, of finance, there is not a line of his writing or a sentence of his public utterances to indicate such knowledge.

"Mr. Cortelyou was made Secretary of the Treasury because he had shown great astuteness as a collector and disburser of campaign contributions, but surely these are not the qualifications of a successful minister of finance during a period of great financial disturbance.

"Not only does the crisis itself require a Secretary of great ability and character who can inspire public confidence, but important complicated and vital financial questions such as currency reform and a central bank of issue will soon come before Congress, and the Treasury Department under its present head can be of little if any assistance in solving these problems.

"The act of September 2, 1789, creating the Treasury Department, provides that 'it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury to digest and prepare plans for the improvement and management of the revenue and for the support of public credit.'

"What plans for the support of the public credit could Mr. Cortelyou propose which

would command the confidence and respect of Congress for a single minute?

"With all fairness to Mr. Cortelyou, the World again asks if his appointment was not one of the most stupendous blunders the President has yet made, and all the greater blunder because Mr. Roosevelt himself has no head for business, law or finance."

"Blunder" is we think far too mild a term for the appointment of Mr. Cortelyou to the head of the treasury department at a time when more than ever perhaps in our history it is of paramount importance that the Secretary of the Treasury be absolutely free from entangling alliances with Wall street high finance, with trusts and corporation interests, and a man of the broad statesmanship and lofty patriotism of an Albert Gallatin and a Salmon P. Chase, wedded to the moral courage and aggressive honesty of a Benjamin H. Bristow."

In commenting on Secretary Cortelyou's amazing innovation and the act under which he and President Roosevelt pretend they find warrant for the extraordinary bond issue, Mr. Louis F. Post, in his admirable weekly, *The Public*, well observes:

"They do this under a law which allows it when, and only when, the financial necessities of the government require it, and yet at a time when the government has a financial surplus and therefore no financial necessities, we beg leave, simply from the standpoint of law and order, to rise up and meekly remark that this plain defiance of the law, for the purpose of increasing deposits of public money in private banking institutions, suggests anew the suspicion that lawlessness and high financiering are often indistinguishable."



Donahay, in Cleveland Plaindealer.

A WINTER'S JOB.

HOW CRAFTY MR. CORTELYOU WAS CAUGHT IN THE ACT.

FOLLOWING hard on the heels of the press dispatches announcing that Archbishop Ireland had been actively engaged in working in the interests of the nomination of his very good friend, Secretary Cortelyou, for the presidency, came the news that the chairman of the national committee was industriously selecting candidates that were pledged to Roosevelt, but who in the event of the President's not running could be counted on to cast their votes for the campaign fat-fryer whose intimate relations with the great gamblers of Wall street and the corporation chiefs was such as to render him a wholly acceptable candidate to the interests. Mr. Cortelyou knew that the President did not intend to run at the next election, but he also knew that the delegates and the people at large did not know this fact, so as national chairman and as Secretary of the Treasury he was in a position to steal a march on all the other candidates. The plan was deep laid and there is every reason to believe that behind the sly, crafty and jesuitical national chairman were the great high financial interests that have such unbounded faith in Cortelyou and which are so industrious in denouncing every man who insists on honest business methods and the exposure and punishment of the criminal rich.

Since the notorious campaign of Mark Hanna, which resulted in the securing of Southern delegates that were supposed to be for Mr. Reed, the South has been a happy hunting ground for would-be Republican candidates who enjoy the confidence of political bosses and the industrial autocracy; and it was with the southern delegates that Mr. Taft's friends found with dismay that Mr. Cortelyou was playing havoc with Taft's chances by selecting men amenable to the chairman. So Mr. Roosevelt was induced to make a final declaration before he had intended to do so. This declaration checked Mr. Cortelyou's attempt to get delegates under false pretenses, and he is represented as becoming extremely enraged at the President's action. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has pacified the Secretary-Chairman and all is represented as happy in the official family.

It is not impossible that Secretary Cortelyou might make things unpleasant if he chose to tell tales out of school, and it is hardly probable that Mr. Roosevelt will openly antagonize him. On the other hand, it is difficult to conceive any reason why Mr. Cortelyou should be nominated for the presidency, as his public life has been singularly barren of beneficent results. His only important act has been his extra-legal and constitutional effort to help the banks during the recent panic caused by his high finance friends, by straining beyond its intention the meaning of a permission given for governmental emergency during the Spanish War. True, Mr. Cortelyou was phenomenally successful as a campaign collector in getting the great gamblers and lawless corporate interests to contribute princely sums to the election of Mr. Roosevelt while presumably deceiving the President and leading him to believe that the great



From the Kladdersadatech, Berlin, Germany.

THE PANIC BIRD.

corporate interests were not paying anything into his campaign fund; for it will be remembered that during the very hey-day of Cortelyou's harvest in Wall street, President Roosevelt branded the charge made by his opponent, that corporate interests were contributing to Mr. Cortelyou's campaign fund, as a deliberate falsehood.

One thing is certain: Mr. Cortelyou would be almost as acceptable to the Wall street gamblers, the high financiers and the law defying trusts as Elihu Root, and more than this need not be said to show that no sincere friend of genuine reform and popular government would think of supporting such a man for the presidency.

MR. WATSON'S EXPOSURE OF THE CONFISCATORY PLEA OF THE RAILWAYS.

MR. THOMAS E. WATSON is doing some excellent work for fundamental democracy in his *Jeffersonian Magazine*, by showing the essentially despotic action of the Federal judges who are seeking to nullify the laws enacted by the states to protect the citizens from the extortions due to the criminal action of the great railway corporation magnates who have watered stock and who gamble with securities in such a way as to impoverish the people and to constantly disturb legitimate business. In speaking of the menace to free government of those modern tools of corporate interests who through the influence of predatory wealth have been elevated to the bench and who hold themselves above the people or the State, Mr. Watson well observes:

"It is monstrous that such men as Jones of Alabama and Pritchard of North Carolina should usurp powers that the President of the United States does not dare to grasp.

"Would Mr. Roosevelt venture to forbid the Corporations Commission of Virginia to exercise a legislative authority, vested in the Commission by law?

"Would he order the Governor of Alabama, the Attorney-General, and the other officers of the State, *not to enforce the laws which they are sworn to enforce?*

"Certainly not. The President has no such legal authority nor have the Federal Judges.

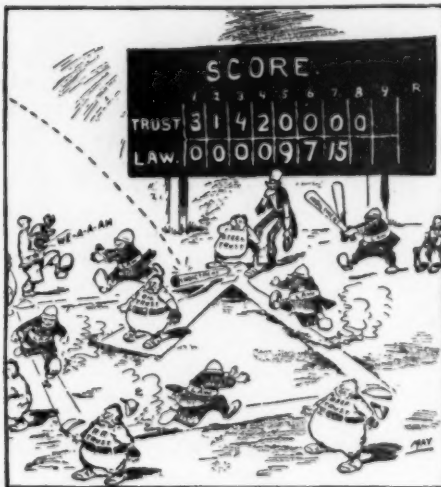
"The Eleventh Amendment to the Constitution of the United States had no other purpose than to establish, in behalf of the States, the time-honored principle that *the Sovereign shall not be sued by the Subject, save by his own consent.*

"Chisholm had sued the State of Georgia; and the Great Usurper, John Marshall—he who, in the course of his disgraceful conduct of the Aaron Burr trial, had sought to compel President Jefferson to reduce himself to the level of a common witness!—had held that a private citizen *could* sue a sovereign State.

"The decision created such universal dissatisfaction that the States adopted the Eleventh Amendment, for the expressed purpose of putting an end to that sort of thing.

"A railroad corporation is a private citizen, and when it brings a case against the State authorities, it is, of course, *suing the State.*"

In speaking of the latest popular plea which the corporation lawyers are advancing as an excuse for the continued plunder of the people for the enrichment of the holders



May, in Detroit Journal.

COMING ON BEHIND.

of watered stock in public-service corporations, Mr. Watson says:

"Reduced to its literal meaning, this is what the Railroads claim:

"We demand the right to water our stock whenever we get ready. We demand the right to spend millions of dollars every year employing Press Agents and Special Counsel to debauch public men and to mis-guide public opinion. We demand the right to collude with the Express Companies, so that those robbers who divide among themselves net profits of two hundred per cent. may carry the cream of our business at fancy prices,—the secret being that the inner clique which controls the Express Company is also the inner clique which controls the railroad. We demand the right to pay huge salaries to figure-heads and dummies, who pose as officers of the roads when, in fact, they are used to cloak and conceal actual conditions which the law prohibits. We demand the right to grant free tickets to the extent of hundreds of thousands of dollars per year, for the purpose of keeping on the good side of Congressmen, Legislators, Judges, and other officials, from whom we seek favors which we ought not to have. We demand the right to continue our reckless mismanagement,—our refusal to adopt safety appliances; our refusal to put road-bed and bridges in first-class condition; our refusal to double-track, to abolish the grade-crossing, to adopt the automatic switch, to employ the most competent men and a sufficiency of them;—we demand the right to continue this ruinous policy, although it results in frightful loss of life and damage suits which cost us an immense amount of money."

Mr. Watson shows that the railways demand all the above things, and then, when the people, exasperated at the extortions practiced, seek relief in an orderly way through legislation, the railways call upon the corporation lawyers to instruct the corporation judges "to block the wheels of government by pleading confiscation." He represents the railways as concluding their plea as follows:

"We will say that unless we are allowed



Bradley, in Chicago News.

ASPERITIES OF WINTER SPORT.

to continue to mismanage our property just as we are now doing, we will lose our *net profits*, and thus *our entire estate will be Confiscated*.

"We will not only say this, but will swear to it. And while the facts we swear to, in the Plea of "Confiscatory," are wholly different from the facts which we swore to when we made our Tax Returns, still we will perjure ourselves like gentlemen, to maintain a system demanded of us by the Wall-street rascals who own us."

This is an admirable summing up of the amazing position taken by the railways against the people—a position which is exasperating the wealth-creators and which will tend to increase the popular demand that the government take over the railway properties for the people, at the cost of replacing the same. It is difficult to understand how any student of political and economic conditions can fail to see that either the people must own and operate the inestimably valuable public utilities, or the government will be debauched and the people exploited and oppressed by unscrupulous bands greedy for the vast wealth that can be reaped from monopoly rights in public utilities.

MR. BRYAN AND THE CORPORATION-OWNED PRESS.

THE KEPT editors of some of the great corporation journals seem greatly exercised over the plain statement of facts which Mr. Bryan has recently been making in regard to the prostitute press of America; and yet there is no one acquainted with the facts but who knows that the statements made by Mr. Bryan are the simple truth, and a truth that it is vitally important for the people to keep in mind, for the hope of free government depends on the awakening of the masses to the fact that the wells of public opinion are being systematically poisoned by special or privileged interests. Mr. Bryan, in speaking of the poison press, said:

"A great many of the big daily papers are owned or controlled by Trusts and corporations. Their editors are but tools in the

hands of schemers. They chloroform the people, telling them things are all right, while the Trusts come along and pick their pockets. These editors are but the mouth-pieces of the great Trusts, and they write what they are told to write by those who would fleece the people."

With great newspapers day by day deliberately misrepresenting such men as Mr. Bryan and justifying the criminal rich at every turn or seeking to further the well-laid plans of the high financiers and public plunderers, it is surely time for thinking and conscience-guided men and women to awaken from their lethargy and organize for aggressive warfare on the enemies of free government, common honesty and morality.

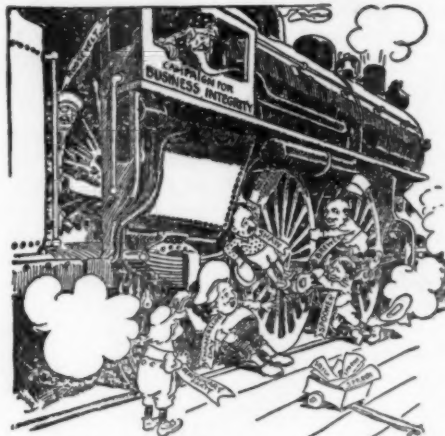
MR. LANGDON ON THE PRESENT STRUGGLE BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND GRAFT.

AT THE present time, when the attorneys and hirelings of the criminal rich are so busy striving to convince the unthinking that the late panic was due to the agitation against railway and corporation lawlessness, and that the security of business depends on a cessation of all such agitation, it is refreshing to find some strong men clearly outlining the real issue. In an able address delivered before the City Club of Boston on December 13th, Mr. William H. Langdon, the district attorney of San Francisco who accomplished such effective work in uncovering the corrupt alliance of the public-service corporations and the Ruef-Schmitz machine, stated the case in perhaps as concise and effective a manner as it has yet been presented, in the following words:

"The struggle is on between democracy and graft, and one or the other must go down. One upholds the morals of men, while the other destroys all that is good.

"When the fierce hunger of business attacks the government it is government, not business, that must give way, and the

doctrine of graft is responsible. It means that when a railroad corporation wanted franchises it gave Abraham Ruef \$14,000 to deliver a delegation to elect a governor for



Bradley, in Chicago News.

THE JAYVILLE BUNCH.—"Come on fellers; let's hold her back!"



McCutcheon, in Chicago Tribune.

THE NEW JUGGERNAUT.

California who would be favorable to their interests instead of the State.

"It was the short-sighted men to whom crime is no sin that brought about the money stringency in this country. They did everything they could to make the people suffer and then said it was this graft prosecution which was responsible.

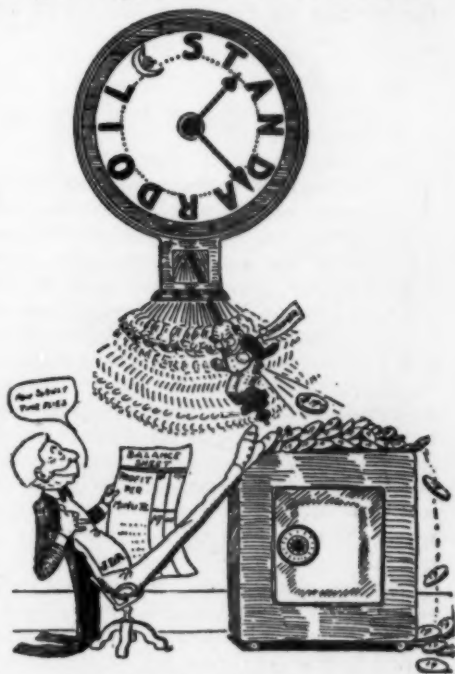
"So in San Francisco, when Spreckles gave his check and his services to his native city that it might be cleansed, he was socially ostracized, deposits were drawn from the bank of which he was president, while the grand jurors appointed, by judicious boycotting, sustained heavy losses, but, be it said to their credit, they never flinched.

"To support graft the allied corporations bought up the weekly papers. Behind them were the cutest minds of the business world. They put unlimited money into the recent political campaign and established an immense law office and hired a score of detectives.

"To offset this we had to put out the money offered by Mr. Spreckles and his friends.

We hired detectives and procured the services of the best attorneys and detectives in the country. To get at the foundation of the crimes we had to promise immunity baths to several. I have been asked repeatedly what was to be done with Abraham Ruef. I cannot say, and the reason is he will get just what he earns. We are after the men higher up.

"We believe that this prosecution has a moral as well as a legal effect. It is time to stop the cynicism of the people against government; to stop the brazen effrontery of the brazen rich who sit by and think they can buy judges until justice becomes a travesty. We are after the men higher up, so as to make criminal acquisition unprofitable and to make young women and men believe that dishonesty does not pay and that the greatest good comes from an honest life."



Donnell, in St. Louis Globe-Democrat.

"TIME IS MONEY."—JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER.

FINDLAND'S RADICAL PROHIBITION LEGISLATION.

IN THE December ARENA we published a very informing paper by Charles R. Jones, reviewing the growth of the temperance movement in America and the astonishing spread of prohibition legislation during the past two decades. After that paper was set up, Alabama enacted a prohibition law, in spite of the urgent protest of Mobile, leading citizens of which city declared that Mobile would secede from the state in the event of its passage.

The American prohibition laws and measures, however, are mild indeed compared with the drastic act recently passed by the Parliament of Finland,—an act which it is thought that the Czar may veto. This bill

prohibits the manufacture, sale, use or possession of alcoholic spirits in any form, including wine and beer. Wine is even barred from the communion table, though spirits in various forms may be used for medicinal or mechanical purposes and may be kept and dispensed for Russian soldiers. Heavy penalties are provided to be meted out to violators, ranging from a minimum fine of \$20 to three years of penal servitude. No compensation is given to the owners of breweries or distilleries.

It is a significant fact that it would be well for those who indiscriminately indulge in denouncing socialists as favoring drink and disorder to note, that there are eighty socialist members in the Parliament of Finland.

THE CASE OF BERNARR MACFADDEN

PERSONALLY we have not been following the case of Mr. Bernarr MacFadden, nor have we had the time for the last few years to read his publication; but from what we have known of the work of the editor of *Physical Culture* in former years in his brave battle against essential immorality and various evils that strike at the heart of the normal development of the people, we do not doubt but that his arrest and conviction are on a par with the infamous persecutions that have for years at intervals been meted out to Moses Harmon and other persons who have battled against prostitution within the marriage bond and immorality in general.

From a correspondent who is intimately acquainted with Mr. MacFadden's case we have received the following news note in regard to the conviction, which we present to our readers. We are glad to note that the case is to be carried to the Supreme Court, as it is extremely important to the people that the rights and limits of postal censorship be established, as well as the rights of the citizen under the Constitution. The following is the note in question:

"Bernarr MacFadden, publisher of *Physical Culture*, whose energies and abilities have for

many years been directed towards the physical and moral improvement of the race, has, at Trenton, New Jersey, before the United States District Court, been sentenced to pay a fine of two thousand dollars and to serve a term of two years in the penitentiary on a charge of sending improper literature through



Morris, in Spokane Spokesman-Review.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE WIFE BEATER AND HOME DESERTER?

Some advocate the whipping post, some the solitary cell, and some the stocks, but the finger of public scorn can be made a powerful agent to drive him, an outcast from decent society.



Donshey, in Cleveland Plain Dealer.

THE END OF THE LINE.

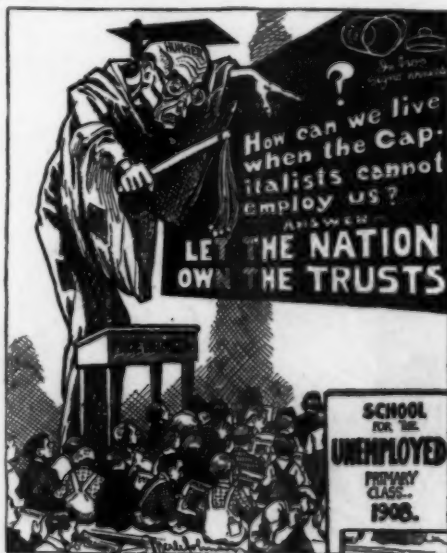
the mails. Mr. MacFadden's real offense is that he is a radical thinker with a large and influential following, and his views upon what constitutes a plane of high morality are apparently at a wide variance with the narrow official methods of the Post-Office Department. It is a thousand pities that such a man as Mr. MacFadden should be punished for seeking to benefit his brothers, but his martyrdom serves an important and necessary purpose; a certain number of noble victims must suffer the stripes before the stain of the infamous, blackmailing Comstock law is wiped from the statutes.

"However, Mr. MacFadden is not in the penitentiary as yet, neither has he paid the fine, and he is making a valiant battle for the freedom of the press. He has appealed his sentence to the United States Supreme Court, and in the chambers of that august body will be threshed out the question, 'Is it a Crime to Expose Crime?'

Mr. MacFadden believes that his constitutional rights have been infringed upon by the Postal authorities and that the Post-Office people have exceeded their constitutional rights in preventing the publication of the serial story, which caused all the trouble, from being printed and distributed to the people at large. The story that caused Mr.

MacFadden to be pursued by Anthony Comstock was a serial story, entitled, 'Growing to Manhood in Civilized (?) Society.' Mr. MacFadden decided to print this story because he thought the time was ripe for a drastic awakening. He thought that this serial story, which laid bare many terrible and glaring evils, might be a power towards the evolution of the higher morality and a nobler conception of life that would, from the standpoint of sex, effect as much as has been accomplished in another direction by Upton Sinclair's famous *The Jungle* against the packing-house evils, or Harriet Beecher Stowe's immortal *Uncle Tom's Cabin* against the slave traffic.

"The arrest, trial and conviction was a distinct surprise to Mr. MacFadden, but it has not deterred him in his purposes and his ideas. He will fight what he terms 'persecution and not prosecution' to the bitter end. In addition to carrying his case to the highest court of the land, he will go on an extended lecture tour through the United States and will tell, in a simple, earnest and straightforward manner, his side of the case, with the hopes of awakening public interest and public support.



Johnson, in Wilshires Magazine, New York.

"THE SCHOOLMASTER IS ABROAD."

As the Socialists See It.

A PROTEST AGAINST CORPORAL PUNISHMENT.

FROM Captain W. E. P. French, U.S.A., one of our esteemed contributors, we have received the following earnest and thoughtful protest against corporal punishment of the young, which we take pleasure in publishing, as admirably expressing our own views and the ideals for which THE ARENA has long contended.

"That apparently sane, kindly, decent and respectable people should seriously advocate corporal punishment in the public schools of a twentieth-century democracy is incomprehensible, and it is a disagreeable and shameful reminder that some of us, at least, are still brutal and stupid barbarians badly disguised by a thin veneer of civilization.

"Are the gentlemen and ladies who propose a return to the discredited methods of the dark ages Christians? Are they believers in the teachings of the gentle, loving Nazarene?

"Spare the rod and spoil the child' is the maxim of a coward, a weakling or a coarse-grained tyrant.

"The teacher that cannot maintain discipline without the rod is unfit to teach, and should apply for a position as wielder of the knout in Siberia, slave-driver to the Sultan of Turkey, or executive officer of the Delaware whipping-post.

"No well-poised, just, self-controlled, warm-

hearted man or woman needs to, wants to, or would, beat a child.

"The best children I have ever known came from families where no blows were ever struck, the worst from so-called homes where might made right, and cruel strength striped its own flesh and blood.

"I have handled boys (several hundred of them) for four years in a great school where I am the head of the military department. Their ages ranged from seven to twenty-one, they were not exactly lambs, some were very difficult to manage, and a few were extremely difficult to deal with. But (one occasion excepted) neither I nor any other member of the faculty ever laid a hand in anger on one of them; and a better disciplined, franker, nicer or more loyal lot of lads it would be hard to find (they can not be found in a school where the lash is used). The excepted occasion was when an ill-balanced, weak and irritable teacher slapped a boy at inspection for wearing dirty gloves. The boy stepped out of ranks and knocked the teacher down. The lad was sustained by the school authorities, the man apologized to him, and, at the end of the term, the master was replaced.

"In my opinion, no human being is good enough to be trusted with the dangerous power to inflict corporal punishment upon children, especially, upon another person's children.

"Kindness, firmness, self-control and even-handed justice (with a little wise toleration of ignorance, fun and young spirits) will make and keep good discipline in any school or any home.

"Force, fear and punishment may suppress the symptoms, but they intensify the disease.

"Guidance, affection and reward, justly and generously used, will remove the cause and make the black sheep such a light gray that anybody but a child-beater would mistake him for a serviceable white.

"Do ye hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Here the sorrow comes with years.
They are leaning their young heads against their
mothers,
And that cannot stop their tears."

W. E. P. FRENCH, U.S.A.

Cornwall on the Hudson, N. Y.



Bradley, in Chicago News.

A BIT OF CONTINUOUS VAUDEVILLE.

PROGRESSIVE FARMERS.

THE GRANGES of the State of Washington are among the most progressive organizations of that wide-awake commonwealth; and as compared with the Granges in the other states they easily rank first, as is demonstrated by the following action of their State Grange:

"The speedy adoption of the initiative and referendum, both state and national," was declared for, also the recall, and there was placed in operation a system for the direct election of officers of the State Grange. There was referred to the local granges the question of whether one-third of the voters at a State Grange meeting should be authorized to refer a resolution to a referendum of the local granges.

It was also said: "The general welfare demands an exhaustive and thorough tariff revision, and that the tariff be removed from every article that is being sold in a foreign market cheaper than at home." It was further said: "We urge upon the members of the Granges throughout the United States to take speedy action and use every influence at their command to secure the carrying out of the sentiments of these resolutions."

Progressive income and inheritance taxes were demanded, also that for purposes of taxation there be a "separate listing of the values of the bounties of Nature, the common gifts of the Creator to His children" and that "Such property as mines, fishing rights, timber and water power, to be taxed at a leasing rate, and the value of improvements to be taxed at a much lower rate or wholly exempted from taxation."

The Des Moines plan for municipal legislative bodies of five or seven members, in combination with the initiative, referendum and recall was strongly urged, together with competitive examinations for most of the minor positions. The State Master was directed "to appoint a committee of three to confer with the State Federation of Labor as to the best means of securing a state law providing that all minor positions in the state, county and city service shall be filled only by competitive examinations, thus providing that the rapidly extending public-

service shall be open to men of merit, rather than as at present to political henchmen."

Another resolution declared: "Inasmuch as the representatives of the Union Labor organizations of the State of Washington have united their efforts with the representatives of the Granges of the state in securing legislative acts in the interests of the masses, therefore, we, the delegates of this convention, do hereby urge all Grangers within the state to use the goods, so far as practicable, bearing the label of Union Labor manufacture."

A grange label was considered and referred to the local granges.

By a rising vote Equal Suffrage was again declared for.

The status of the direct-legislation movement in Washington is described in the annual report of the State Master, C. B. Kegley. He said:

"We are in the midst of progressive political changes, far reaching in character, and which are moving with great swiftmess. Machine-rule, the rule of the bosses, is being ended. The people are regaining their lost sovereignty. Though we failed to secure the passage of our Direct-Legislation Bill, it was by so narrow a margin that it guarantees complete success in the next legislature, and it is only a few years until Direct-Legislation will be the law, not only in a majority of the states, but in the nation. In twenty-one states the movement has succeeded or is well under way, which is double the number of two years ago, while the number of pledged members in Congress is four times greater. One hundred and seven members of the present National House are pledged, their obligation being to vote for the immediate establishment of the advisory initiative and the advisory referendum for acts of Congress and for measures passed by either house. It is hoped that as a result of last year's campaign there will be a pledged majority in the National House, a pledged president, with a majority vote in the Senate secured by pledging the candidates for the legislature to vote to instruct the hold-over Senators, and to vote only for such candidates for the United

States Senate as are pledged to the advisory vote system. The condition of these twenty-one states is as follows:

"This year's legislature in Maine, Missouri and North Dakota have submitted constitutional amendments for the initiative and referendum.

"In Oklahoma the constitutional convention has incorporated the system in the proposed constitution.

"In eight other states the people possess a direct vote system for public questions, or have adopted it, or the legislature is pledged. These states are Oregon, South Dakota, Montana, Utah, Illinois, Texas and Ohio.

"In eight more the initiative and referendum movement is progressing rapidly. These states are Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, and our own state of Washington.

"In Maine it was unanimous. In Oklahoma only five of the 112 delegates voted against the system. In Delaware the vote establishing the initiative and referendum in the city of Wilmington was unanimous.

The Pennsylvania House without debate, without amendment, and by a unanimous vote, has passed a bill for the direct election of United States Senators. Thus machine-rule is almost a thing of the past in Pennsylvania. So wonderful a political change, in so short a time, has never been equaled in this or any other age.

"By another year complete success in every northern state should be assured, also National success. In our own state we are making rapid progress along these lines. The political boss sees the handwriting on the wall.

"How best can the campaign be carried on? We should, I believe, improve our system for questioning candidates, and get ready to use the initiative and referendum when we get the system installed. If we do this it will actively interest every farmer in the state and tend to induce him to join with us. We must organize in every county, and a wide-awake campaign along the lines indicated will help us to accomplish this end."

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON.

Secretary of the National Federation for People's Rule.

The Southern Pacific Turned Down.

A GOOD illustration of the power of the referendum and also of the unrepresentative character of so-called representative government was furnished by a referendum vote taken in Sacramento, October 22d. The Western Pacific Railroad had applied for franchises for entering and crossing the city, which because of the influence of the Southern Pacific over the city trustees, were refused. A referendum was demanded and the people voted in favor of the franchises, turning down the Southern Pacific's "representative government" henchmen by the vote of 24 to 1, the majority for the franchises being about 4,000. The people of Sacramento had been thoroughly misrepresented by their representatives in the City Council, and many of the voters of Sacramento who were apparently indifferent toward the referendum before this occurred are to-day enthusiastic in their praise of it.

A. F. of L. for Direct Legislation.

THE Massachusetts State Federation of Labor which had its annual convention at Milford, October 17th, passed a resolution calling upon the members of the executive council and the legislative committee to prepare a bill providing for the initiative and referendum, and have it presented and pushed at the approaching session of the State Legislature. The great fight which friends of this movement in Massachusetts have been making the past few years for the passage of the Public-Opinion Bill, very moderate indeed in its provisions, has brought out such determined opposition from Senator Lodge and his corporation cohorts, that it is now beginning to be understood that it is more economical to fight for a measure that will carry with it some real power for the people, and not be merely advisory after it is won.

The Public-Opinion Bill will doubtless be introduced again this year, and it may be that

this fight of the Federation of Labor for a real referendum will result in the Public-Opinion Bill being accepted as a compromise.

For Michigan's Constitution.

ONE OF the first sections offered before the Michigan Constitutional Convention was that of F. F. Ingram, the veteran direct-legislation worker of Detroit, who would provide for the reservation of final power in the hands of the people as follows:

"Section 1. The sovereign power in state affairs is the electors of Michigan, subject to the limitations in the national constitution. The sovereign power in local affairs is the electors in each of the municipalities, subject to the limitations in the state and the national constitutions.

"Section 2. Governmental agents must be selected, but there should be no unnecessary delegation of power; therefore the acts of legislative agents shall be subject to a veto power in the electors, except as to emergency measures, and the electors retain the power of direct legislation for statute and constitutional law. Nominations for public office shall be by direct vote."

A Connecticut Referendum.

THE PEOPLE of Connecticut have recently voted upon a proposed amendment to the State Constitution, and furnished another contradiction to the theory that the affirmative in referendums always win. The amendment proposed among other things an increase from \$300 to \$500 in the pay of state legislators; and the Connecticut Yankee is nothing if he is n't conservative in matters of this kind. The vote was 15,000 for, and 20,000 against.

The Wilmington League Active.

THE Initiative and Referendum League of Wilmington has submitted a communication to the city council requesting that body to adopt a resolution requiring the Board of Directors of the street and sewer departments to pass an ordinance in keeping with the initiative and referendum vote, taken by the city in June, requiring street-railways to care for the streets used by them and to keep their cars in good repair.

Under this ordinance the directors of the department would be liable to a fine in case they should fail to compel the electric-railway companies to make such repairs as are provided for by their franchises. In case of con-

viction they shall be removed from office and shall not be eligible to hold office for a period of five years.

Progress of People's Rule in Oregon.

OREGON is the only state in the Union where there exists a somewhat strong organization of farmers making use of the initiative and referendum. Last year the Oregon Granges initiated two bills, both being for the taxation of gross receipts of monopoly corporations that were escaping taxation. The voters adopted the bills by an 11-to-1 vote.

The next legislature still refused to revise the tax law, and the legislative committee of the State Grange reported that while the last legislature had "appropriated a very large amount of money" it had "failed to provide for the taxation of any property whatever that has so far escaped its just share of tax burden, and only through the initiative will it be possible to pass just laws on taxation." The State Grange instructed its Worthy Master to appoint a committee of five on assessment and taxation, whose findings are to be submitted for discussion and review by the various county granges and county councils during the year, and then a final report of the committee is to be submitted at the next annual meeting of the State Grange.

Last year the State Grange appropriated \$2,000 for use by its executive committee in referring such bills of the legislature as should be deemed injurious to the state. The next legislature, though not charged with corruption, passed two bills which the executive committee of the Grange has ordered to a referendum vote, with a view to securing a veto by the people. Petitions were circulated and signed and the State Grange has endorsed the movement. The bills that are objected to are for the compulsory granting of railroad passes for members of the legislature and other state officers, and the appropriation of \$100,000 for building armories. The referendum votes will be taken next June.

The State Grange instructed, too, that its executive committee draft an amendment to the State Constitution and initiate the same for a vote by the people at the next State election, which shall deprive the legislature of the power to change any law that has become such through the initiative petition and the people's vote.

An additional complaint against the legislature by the State Grange is that it has so amended the procedure for submitting meas-

ures to a vote of the people as to "almost prohibit its use." These are the words of the report of the legislative committee of the State Grange, and it recommended that the executive committee be authorized "to have prepared and submitted to the people a law that will reduce the cost of the initiative and referendum as much as possible." The action taken by the State Grange was that the executive committee bring the matter before the next legislature.

In addition to the four questions named in the December ARENA which are to come up at the June election under the referendum petitions, there are nine questions which have been placed upon the ballot under the initiative clause of the constitution. One of these is a constitutional amendment giving the suffrage to women. Another establishes the Recall. Another provides proportional representation in the legislature. Besides these constitutional amendments there are proposed statutes, one of which provides drastic measures for corrupt practices in elections, and another is a prohibitional law.

The State has filed its demurrer to the suit of the Pacific States Telephone & Telegraph Company which will eventually come before the United States Supreme Court. Corporation interests are taking advantage of the present situation to express all possible dissatisfaction with the system of direct-legislation.

Mr. Hobson on Switzerland.

THE INITIATIVE and referendum, in their practical workings in Switzerland, find more favor with the eminent English publicist and economist, John A. Hobson, than with a former American minister to that country who has recently expressed his views on the subject. Mr. Hobson writes in the *Contemporary Review* and sums up some of the advantages of the referendum as follows:

1. That it provides a remedy for intentional or unintentional misrepresentation on the part of elected legislatures and secures laws conformable to the actual will of the majority.
2. That it enhances the popular confidence in the stability of law.
3. That it eliminates much waste of political energy by enabling proposals of unknown value to be submitted separately to a quantitative test.

Yet the greatest service of all is the training in the art of self-government which the referendum gives. Says Mr. Hobson:

"It may indeed be questioned whether a people whose direct contribution to self-government consists in a single vote cast at intervals of several years, not for a policy or even for a measure, but for a party or a personality, can be or is capable of becoming a genuinely self-governing people. Some amount of regular responsibility for concrete acts of conduct is surely as essential to the education of a self-reliant people as of a self-reliant individual."

And through the referendum alone, as compared with the representative system, is "some amount of regular individual responsibility" for the concrete acts of government obtainable.

This is a very instructive and important endorsement of direct legislation and deserves much wider reprint in the American press than it has received. Of much value to friends of the movement is Mr. Hobson's description of the ballot used in the method of voting. This is a great improvement over the custom usually employed in this country. As the word "yes" or "no" must be written in, there is no possibility of error nor ambiguity such as is often the case where the words "for" or "against" are used.

New Jersey Takes a Step.

LAWS providing for the nomination of candidates by a direct primary vote and for a popular vote in the selection of United States Senators have been passed by the New Jersey legislature and were signed by the Governor, October 28th. The direct primary law provides for the selection in this way of all candidates except the Governor and members of Congress. One hundred voters can put a name on a county ballot and fifty voters can secure a name on a municipal ballot.

The act providing for a popular vote in the selection of United States Senators was introduced by Senator Colby on the last day of the session. It provides that not less than 1,000 voters of a political party may file a petition with the Secretary of State endorsing any member of their political party as a candidate for the endorsement of that party for United States Senator. Not less than twenty days prior to the primary election copies of such petitions must be transmitted to the county clerks who shall certify to municipal clerks the name or names of all persons who have been endorsed by petition transmitted to him. In preparing the official ballots for the primaries the municipal clerks are to insert thereon the words

"favored for United States Senator," placing thereunder all the names certified in alphabetical order.

In filing his acceptance of a nomination for the office of State Senator or member of the Assembly, a candidate may sign and file a copy of one or two statements, which are to be made public as soon as all acceptances of nominations have been filed. The first statement pledges the candidate to vote for the candidate for United States Senator who receives the highest number of votes in his party in the county at the primary election, and the second statement pledges him to vote for the candidate who receives the highest number of votes in the party in the State.

A Corporation Invokes The Referendum.

REFERENDUM petitions by which it is sought to compel the Common Council of San Diego to allow the people of the city the right to vote on a proposed street-railway franchise, were put into circulation by E. Bartlett Webster, president of the South Park and East Side Railway Company. The petition is for a street-railway franchise over certain streets of the city in extension of the present system. The petition has been refused by the City Council, and now the most unusual spectacle is presented of the corporation itself appealing to the plebscite.

Reform Program for Arkansas.

ARKANSAS has a State Capitol steal, along with the usual machine-rule conditions. And as in other states a strong people's-rule champion is at hand. Hon. George W. Donaghey is a candidate for the governorship and he proposes a winning program. He advocates for the State the submission of a constitutional amendment for the initiative and referendum. In a speech announcing his candidacy he says:

"The initiative and referendum will be but another step in the direction of the rule by the people. It will enable them even when the men they have elected to office can be no longer trusted, to recall their measures and pass upon them for themselves. Under such a safeguard the capitol outrage would have been an impossibility. It is a double-action measure and serves both for enacting good laws and repealing bad ones. It is a safeguard for the representative system and a reinforcement for the protection of the people's will. Laws that affect the people's welfare could, under the referendum, be referred back to the people for

confirmation or rejection. This would entirely do away with boodling, or boodlers could not "deliver the goods." Government derives its just power from the consent of the governed. Then it seems to me that every good citizen must approve of this measure."

Miscellaneous Items.

REPRESENTATIVE Jefferson Bouware of Peoria is trying to secure the passage in the Illinois legislature of a bill referring to a referendum of the people of the state, the question of opening the Illinois river above Peoria for deep-water navigation.

THE PEOPLE of Maine are hearing more about the possibilities of resubmission than any other one question in connection with the pending state constitutional amendment. The amendment does not provide for constitutional amendments, still, through the initiative, it does open the door for the people to make themselves heard on this question.

THE MAINE government, like that of Massachusetts, has an executive council and provides for the appointment of judges. But the people of that state are beginning to desire the election of their state auditor, attorney general, secretary of state, treasurer, state assessors, railroad commissioners, judges, etc., and they are seeing in the constitutional amendments an open door to these important reforms.

THE QUIET town of Pleasant Valley, West Virginia, voted down, October 15th, a bonding proposition by a vote of three to one.

THE "NEW-IDEA" Republicans of New Jersey have declared emphatically that the decision of the form of excise regulation should be by the voters in each municipality by a referendum vote.

REV. W. T. S. LUMBAR of Newark has openly advocated referring the whole Sunday question to a referendum vote. Of course he is opposed to the legalized opening of the saloon on Sunday, but he believes that the people should decide the important question. In a sermon on this subject he said:

"I am no more afraid to trust this question to the ballots of the American people than Elijah was to put to a vote the question of whether the Lord should be God or not in that tragic day on Carmel."

THE CITIZENS of Newark, New Jersey, voted at the November election on several referen-

dum questions including a plan to change the Board of Education to an appointive board of nine members, the establishment of a municipal electric-lighting plant, an increase of salary for policemen after a certain period of service and the expenditure of a million dollars to secure meadows and construct docks.

ALDERMAN MELMS of Milwaukee is attempting to secure the passage of an ordinance that will require referendum votes on all important municipal questions.

THE PEOPLE of Washington, Indiana, voted on October 1st, to spend \$50,000 in improvement of their electric-light plant.

THE TAXPAYERS of Pleasant Valley, New York, in a vote on October 17th, decided to consolidate the various school districts of the town and build a fine union school building with improved advantages.

THE PEOPLE of Salem, Mass., are seriously considering the adoption of a new form of city government embodying the initiative and referendum and recall.

A NUMBER of the most public-spirited citizens of Quincy, Massachusetts, have formed a local organization known as the Referendum Union of Quincy, of which Mr. Levy H. Turner is secretary.

A GOOD illustration of the shameless tactics of the corporation politicians is furnished in the fact that every member of the gang that tried to defeat Brand Whitlock for Mayor of Toledo was pledged to a referendum on the pending street-car franchise. These pledges are easily obtained under such pressure as existed in Toledo during the campaign, but they failed to deceive enough voters to accomplish the purpose in view.

THE PEOPLE of Ware, Massachusetts, voted in November to approve the purchase by the Legislature of the Deer Hill Reservation which is one of the beauty spots of central Massachusetts.

THE Michigan State Grange did good work in the campaign for the election of members of the state constitutional convention. Every candidate was questioned and his reply heralded throughout the order.

MR. G. J. KING, field secretary of the Ohio Direct-Legislation League, is quoted as claiming that 92 Ohio legislators have pledged them-

selves to vote for the initiative and referendum bill the coming winter, 73 votes being necessary to pass it. This bill has already been passed by the senate.

THE REFERENDUM votes taken on the license question by the townships in New York State in the November election, were in most cases the leading issue of the election.

HON. ROBERT M. FERNELD of West Poland, Maine, has announced that he will be a candidate for Governor in the Republican state convention of 1908, and declares himself a very firm believer in the initiative and referendum which are to be voted upon by the people in that election.

REV. JOHN H. LARRY, pastor of the Edgewood Congregational Church, Providence, has recently come out strongly for the initiative and referendum.

"The present method of voting is all wrong," he said, "because it is impossible to vote for questions, and we have to vote for men who may or may not represent them." Referring to state politics he said the people of Rhode Island had nothing whatever to do with the election of a Senator, and he declared that with present conditions it would be almost as well to put the office up to be sold to the highest bidder.

JUSTICE BREWER of the United States Supreme Court in a speech at Carnegie Hall, November 20th, spoke favorably of the initiative and referendum.

AT THE fourteenth convention of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs held at Hotel Astor, October 18th, a resolution offered by the Business Woman's League, endorsing the effort of the New York Referendum League to secure a direct legislation amendment to the constitution was unanimously passed.

THE INTEREST in the subject of the initiative and referendum has become so great in the State of Washington, that the schools all over the State are holding debates on the subject. It is difficult, it seems, to get enough speakers on the negative side, and among those who have written to us for points have been some who have said that while they were in favor of direct legislation they must make an argument on the other side, and they applied to us to help them. The *Portland Oregonian* says that it is receiving great numbers of calls from princi-

pals, superintendents, and teachers of various schools in Washington, for material on this subject, which it is unable to supply in such amounts as demanded, and therefore refers the applicants to back numbers of the *Oregonian*.

MICHIGAN has a new law providing that a referendum may be demanded by the people of any community upon the acceptance of any proffered bonds from saloon men seeking licenses.

AN ELECTION was held in Delaware on November 5th, in which no candidate ran for office. The whole thing was for the purpose of enabling the people to pass upon a great public question.

THE NEW YORK State Initiative and Referendum League questioned every candidate for the legislature in the recent election as to his attitude on direct legislation, asking for a direct pledge of his support for an initiative and

referendum bill to be introduced in the approaching session of the legislature.

THE Referendum League of Erie County did good service in the campaign, questioning all candidates and publishing their replies, and also by insisting upon the education of the voters in the use of the voting machines.

TWENTY-ONE charter amendments were voted on by the people of San Francisco at the recent election.

THE Missouri Referendum League has sent out 60,000 packages of literature, each one containing three pieces, to all the addresses in the telephone directories throughout the state. Dr. Hill got up the literature, and it was very effective indeed.

THE Iowa Supreme Court has passed favorably upon the constitutionality of the Des Moines charter. Another goal won!

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

By BRUNO BECKHARD,

Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Union of Canadian Municipalities.

THE UNION of Canadian Municipalities at its recent meeting placed its attitude on Municipal Ownership on record in the following resolutions:

1. That in the opinion of this convention, as public utilities are so constituted that it is impossible for them to be operated by competition, they should either be controlled and regulated by the government or should be operated by the public, and that they should not, in any event, be left to do as they please.

That municipal ownership should not be extended to revenue-producing industries which do not involve public health, public safety, public transportation or the permanent occupation of public streets and grounds, and similar principles; but that municipal ownership should not be undertaken solely for profit.

2. That in the opinion of this convention all future grants to private companies for the construction and operation of public utilities should be determinable at fixed periods, and that meanwhile, at certain stated times during such period, cities should have the right to

purchase the property for operation, lease or sale, paying its fair value.

That in the future provision be made for a competent public authority with power to require from all public utilities a uniform system of records and accounts, giving all the financial data and all information concerning the quality of service and the cost thereof, such data to be published and distributed as official reports.

3. That in the opinion of this convention no stocks or bonds for public utilities should be issued without the approval of some competent public authority, thus settling the capital by official investigation.

That a standard rate of dividend should be fixed, which may be increased only when the price of the commodity sold or the rate of transportation has been reduced.

4. That in the opinion of this convention, where the management of public utilities is left with private companies, the city should retain in all cases an interest in the growth and profits of the future, either by a share of the profits or a reduction of the charges, the latter being

preferable, as it enures to the benefit of those who use the utilities, while a share of the profits benefits the taxpayers.

5. That in the opinion of this convention, where the operation of the public utilities is by the municipality, there should be a complete separation of the finances of the undertaking from these of the rest of the city, and that the bonds issued for such utilities should be the first charge upon the property and revenue of such undertaking.

These resolutions, it will be noted, are in close correspondence with those formulated by the Committee of the National Civic Federation.

League of American Municipalities.

THE ANNUAL convention of this League at Norfolk in October devoted some time to a discussion of municipal ownership. The principal address upon the subject was a conservative opposition to municipal-ownership and was presented by Edward A. Moffitt, Secretary of the Investigation Committee of the National Civic Federation. His paper was responded to by Messrs. Dunne, Coatsworth, Beardsley and Cooke; and the general impression conveyed was that the majority of members present did not agree with Mr. Moffitt's views. He attributed the advance of municipal-ownership to "emotional prejudice and error in estimating financial results." He did not believe that we had yet achieved in America the "high capacity of municipal government" essential to successful municipal-ownership; not because of a lack in our public officials but because of the absorption of our citizens in their own affairs. The municipal-ownership campaign, he believed, had done much good as a punishment and a warning to public-service corporations, and had been beneficial in bringing out some of the latent powers of our state and city governments in the control of public-service corporations; and in the development of these powers rather than in the removal of public utilities from private control lay the remedy for present objectionable conditions. The profits of private corporations under municipal control were more than offset, he thought, by "the inability of municipal plants to buy supplies, materials, brains or labor as cheaply as private industries."

Ex-Mayor Dunne presented the other side. He said that the friends of municipal-

ownership in this country had insisted only that any enterprise which required necessarily the use of public property and which therefore must be a monopoly should be placed in public hands. To secure the best possible public services at the lowest practicable price, economic law requires: First, that a public service corporation organized to supply a perpetual public need shall have the exclusive right to supply such need perpetually. Secondly, that all accounts shall be honestly and correctly kept; that economic thrift shall be insisted upon in every department, and that charges for the use of these services shall bear a fixed relation to the necessary cost of production. Most governments have erred by placing dependence upon the principle of competition instead of the principle of governmental regulation. For the proper conduct of the latter it is necessary that the State establish a Department of Public Accounting and Inspection. "Under a system of State regulation such as is here advocated, every interest of users, of municipalities, and of the State, will be best served by granting exclusive, perpetual, and untaxed franchises to public-service corporations, which can then render the best obtainable service at the lowest profitable rates, and can satisfy the users of their services that they are doing so.

The discussion showed that the hysterical side of the controversy has passed, that both sides are studying facts and are fixing their attention on a compromise which has already produced excellent results.

Municipal Markets.

It is generally admitted that the cost of living is higher in American cities than it is in Continental cities, largely as a result of our non-interference with respect to the necessities of life, that is, our lack of market regulation. A few of our cities have taken up the question of municipal markets, but with only slight interest. Boston, Baltimore, New Orleans and a number of smaller cities have each established a market system, but none of them has developed it very far.

In Boston the market is in charge of a public official, paid by the fees collected from the marketmen. There is, however, no attempt to regulate or to standardize prices, or to gather statistical data, so that there is now no real advantage to the consumers from the public control of the market. In

Baltimore the system is very much the same. Except for the regulation of the price of stalls the control here is also ineffective. Chicago has no market buildings, simply a market-place. It is, however, the closest market in the country. One can buy almost all products of the soil for less money than anywhere else in America. The city is the fruit market for the world, due chiefly to its railway facilities. New Orleans furnishes the best example of a municipal market. The city operates four markets of its own, which yield \$10,000 a year, and also leases rights for \$186,000. In this instance the city possesses a monopoly and the few private enterprises which exist are under the right of reversion to the city.

All these efforts, however slight, have resulted in good financial gains. Boston nets a profit of \$60,000 a year; Baltimore, about \$50,000; New Orleans, nearly \$79,000. Yet only a very small proportion of our cities have turned to this matter at all, and those that have, have made no adequate provision.

In contrast with this, practically all the municipalities of continental Europe have monopolized the market rights, and the markets are subject to public control; the cities also reserving the right to originate new markets. The cities there are doing what the commission merchant does here. We are constantly threatened with a monopoly of the necessities of life. The object of municipal markets, says E. Thomas, in an article on "Paris Stock Markets," is to get the price of provisions down to the minimum. Continental cities realize that the establishment of a market price is as important as the question of the tariff. The object of the markets is also to insure an established relationship between the city and the country, thereby making direct access to the city more easy for the farming communities.

Paris has by far the best markets in the world. The "Halles Centrales" is the great distributing point for the whole city. There are ten halls of which three whole pavilions and three half-pavilions are devoted to wholesale, the rest to retail trade. The outside space is given to fruits and vegetables. The management of the halls is under the control of the Department of the Seine, but is really under the immediate supervision of the Police. The sales are conducted by persons called representatives of the shippers, appointed by the Police, the middleman's commission being thus avoided. These rep-

resentatives receive a certain per cent., fixed by law, for their services in conducting the sales, which are usually by auction. The books and records of sale are always subject to inspection by the proper authorities. Sanitary conditions are also carefully supervised—in fact every detail is carefully watched, made to produce revenue where possible, or kept from doing harm, where necessary.

Direct dealing between producer and consumer is general. The wholesale dealer sets his price according to that of the market, which is law. The price set in Paris is the price, for the surrounding country, and special agents are engaged in reporting the prices to Belgium, Spain, parts of Germany, and other neighboring districts. Some of these agents are working for themselves, the others are appointed by the Board of Trade and must give security for faithful reports, and agree to engage in no other business while in office. They note and report the general business done, and it is from their figure that the price is compiled.

The Paris market is extremely easy of access (more particularly the Paris market price) since all business can be done through one of the representatives. The results from the system are regularity of standards of price and quality, direct exchange for cash, and guaranteed sanitary goods.

In Belgium, Germany and Italy, markets are also either owned or controlled by the cities. London has no central market place. In Convent Garden, however, prices are regulated by Parliament. There is much to be done in the way of markets in our American cities, though the work must proceed cautiously. The market is, from the standpoint of economics and society, a necessity, and the time is near when we will realize this fact. The alternative is a corner in the necessities of life.

Municipal Land Owning.

AT THE eighth annual Housing Congress, held in London in August, Dr. Wilhelm Mewes presented a paper on Municipal Land Owning. Increased population, he says, causes increased land values. Land values depend upon the use to which the land is put as a consequence of the working of the law of supply and demand. Expensive land causes the erection of block dwellings, but such dwellings make the value of the adjoining lands go up. Where the land is

intensively used there are a great many changes in ownership. The government should have a definite policy of land-development, so that it shall profit by this growth. Many German cities own one-third to one-half of their land.

Municipal land may be utilized in different ways; (a) sold, with registered conditions to prevent misuse or excessive speculation, (b) built on by the municipalities themselves, (c) leased to individuals or companies—more particularly to public-service corporations. In town development, three things should be combined: purchase of large tracts, a general plan, and regulated building laws. A tax on exchanges in land or on the unearned increment should be made, to prevent excessive gains from the sale of land.

Swedish Cities.

SWEDISH cities have established beyond doubt or question the advantages of non-partisan municipal government. The town councils are carefully filled by men selected from the different professions, with a view to governing the city in the best interests of all. All the councillors have equal rights and opportunities for discussion. The numerous standing committees are kept in close touch with the people by being given the right to choose their chairmen from the citizens at large. The result is a very live and sensitive body willing to undertake anything that will benefit the city. Not only have they taken over the usual matters of municipal control, the public utilities, but also baths, recreation and educational centers, libraries, social settlements and the like. Some cities even have a public building department. Steps which we consider as reforms have long been matters of course in Swedish cities.

Postal Reform.

THE PROJECTS for a parcels-post and for a postal savings-bank are receiving a new impetus through the energy of Postmaster-General Meyer. He is driving home the absurdity of a parcels-post treaty with foreign countries unaccompanied by a parcels-post at home. The advantages of a postal savings-bank have been ably illustrated by foreign example. Private interests alone have stood in the way of the adoption of the measure here, and Mr. Meyer is rapidly overcoming that prejudice.

Toronto, Canada.

LESS complaints and better service than ever before, an increase in the wages of employes of 10 per cent. to 12 per cent., a saving to the city of \$20 a night, over \$7,000, or nearly 25 per cent., is the record of Toronto's first year of municipal-ownership of its gas plant.

Mobile, Alabama.

BY THE purchase of the Bienville plant the city's Department of Water-Works is in a position to provide for a one-third increase in population. In the one year of operation the net gain to the city has been over \$8,200 on a total revenue of \$80,546. Over 9,500 feet of service mains have been laid and many extensions are planned. The Department is making an inspection of plumbing and water-fixtures to obtain information as to connections, size of houses, etc., as well as to avoid bad plumbing and other sources of leaks which increase the cost of maintenance.

Pasadena, California.

THE REPORT of the city's lighting plant for August shows that the city was furnished with light for the equivalent of 300 16-candle-power lamps for \$1,105.83. At former rates the amount of light used by the municipality would have cost \$2,080. The municipal plant in its second month of operation made a net saving to the taxpayers of \$974.97.

Salt Lake City, Utah.

IN EXCHANGE for the validation, and extension for fifty years, of its 1905 franchise, the Utah Light and Power Company will remove its restrictions of the city's use of Big Cottonwood Creek for power purposes only in connection with municipal utilities and properties, and allow the city to use the power for whatever purpose it wishes. Protest was made when the restriction clause was inserted in the franchise on the ground that it effectually barred the city from ever producing electricity for street lighting or other important uses, and the point is now before the courts. If the new franchise is passed it will validate the lapsed franchise and cause for complaint will cease.

Berlin's Gas Works.

THE GAS-works owned and operated by the city have proved extremely profitable, while the gas turned out is of excellent quality

and is sold to consumers at a price well below the average price in the large cities of America. Instead of a deficit the budget for the present fiscal year shows a surplus of not less than fifteen million marks. The employes of these works are well paid, are insured against accident by the city, and are entitled to a pension after twenty-five years of service.

New York Ferries.

COMPTROLLER METZ of New York has suggested that in order to relieve the crush on the Brooklyn bridge the city should operate a free-for-all ferry between the two boroughs. Ordinarily this would be a very good plan, but at present, in view of the reduction in ferry travel due to the new bridge and to the much greater reduction promised by the new tunnels, to say nothing of the unreasonably high price asked by the ferry company for its franchise, the plan is but an effort to unload on the city at a high price.

Scranton, Pennsylvania.

DESPITE numerous defeats Scranton is waging another campaign for municipal water-works.

Seattle, Washington.

THE Municipal-Ownership Party has given Seattle not only better officials than those of the previous régime, but also better service by both public and private corporations.

A Departmental Departure.

WHAT amounts to a national employment

agency has been established as a bureau of the Department of Commerce and Labor. Mr. Terence V. Powderly, who has charge of this new branch of federal activity is making inquiries as to those in need of workers and those in need of work and is trying to bring the two together. His preliminary figures as to the need for workers are instructive.

Denver, Colorado.

DENVER is taking steps toward the municipalization of its water-works.

Ashland, Wisconsin.

ASHLAND is now in a position to operate its municipal lighting plant, having accepted the proposition of the Chippewa Valley Construction Company to transmit power from Copper Falls.

Dubuque's "Failure."

IT HAS been announced that municipal-ownership in Dubuque is a failure. The city owned its water-works and they steadily ran behind. Finally an investigation was ordered and it was discovered that the superintendent had stolen \$12,000 of the receipts. It appears that there was a regular plan to keep the deficit of the plant constantly increasing so that the municipality would finally be glad to let the plant go at a nominal figure and then the ring was to buy it in. When the precious scheme was unearthed, the ring was ousted, and under honest management the water-works has returned a fair income.

BRUNO BECKHARD.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

The Oregon Initiative.

UNDER date of Portland, Oregon, October 15, 1907, the following circular letter has been issued:

"Dear Sir:

"We ask your consideration of the constitutional amendments for the recall and permitting proportional representation and major-

ity election, a bill to express the people's intention to choose their United States Senators and the Huntley bill to prevent corrupt practices and put the poor man on a footing of equality with his wealthy rival in aspiring to public office. We hope you may approve of their submission to the people at the election next June by initiative petition,

and that you will unite with us in organizing the People's Power League for that purpose. The whole responsibility for their approval or rejection will then rest upon the people of Oregon.

"We believe the adoption of these measures will result,

"1st. In reducing the influence of money and unreasoning party prejudice to their lowest terms in the politics of Oregon;

"2d. Will exalt the influence of intelligence and reason above all other powers in the elections in this state;

"3d. Will allow the enactment of laws under which our officers will be chosen by actual majorities for single offices and equal proportions of the voters for representative offices;

"4th. Will practically complete the necessary means for the direct, quick and effective control by the people of all their state and local officers and government.

"Among the men to whom we are sending this letter are many who served in the campaigns for the Australian Ballot, the Bingham Registration Law, Initiative and Referendum amendments to the constitution, Direct Primary Nominating Elections Law, Home Rule for Cities and measures of the People's Power League of 1906. It has been a twenty years' contest against Boss-Rule and Machine Politics, and when these measures are approved by the People we believe their victory will be complete and permanent. Otherwise it seems to us that resurrection of government by political Bosses and Machines is still possible. We expect it will cost the League about three thousand dollars to submit these measures.

"Your criticism, suggestions and aid are earnestly solicited.

"Sincerely yours for the best government.

"Jonathan Bourne, Jr., (by authority); Earl C. Bronough, Jerry Bronough, W. C. Bristol, Lee M. Clark, H. W. Drew, C. H. Gram, Thomas G. Green, Clyde G. Huntley, J. E. Hedges, V. R. Hyde, G. W. Holcomb, Harry Lane, T. M. Leabo, T. A. McBride, Henry E. McGinn, E. S. J. McAllister, F. McKercher, P. McDonald, G. M. Orton, B. Lee Paget, C. Schuebel, Ben Selling, Alex. Sweek, C. E. S. Wood, Frank Williams, W. S. U'Ren, John C. Young."

Accompanying this is a pamphlet of 32 pages, containing the introductory statements

and draft of the two Constitutional Amendments and the two laws referred to in the circular. Following is the text of the Proportional-Representation amendment:

"Proposed Amendment to the Constitution of Oregon to permit the Enactment of Laws for Proportional Representation and Majority Nominations and Elections.

"Section 16 of Article II. of the Constitution of the State of Oregon shall be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows:

"Article II.—Section 16. In all elections authorized by this constitution, until otherwise provided by law, the person or persons receiving the highest number of votes shall be declared elected, but provision may be made by law for election by equal proportional representation of all the voters for every office which is filled by the election of two or more persons whose official duties, rights and powers are equal and concurrent. Every qualified elector resident in his precinct and registered as may be required by law, may vote for one person under the title for each office. Provision may be made by law for the voter's direct or indirect expression of his first second or additional choices among the candidates for any office. For an office which is filled by the election of one person it may be required by law that the person elected shall be the final choice of a majority of the electors voting for candidates for that office. These principles may be applied by law to nominations by political parties and organizations."

As originally drafted, the amendment was longer, and was followed by a schedule providing for the Gove system of Proportional and Preferential Voting. But on more mature consideration it was decided to omit the schedule and leave the details to subsequent legislation, with one important exception, namely, that the Amendment limits each elector to a single vote. This would introduce at a stroke an approximately proportional plan, because Oregon has multiple electoral districts. Then subsequent legislation could improve this plan into the Gove system or the Single Vote Free List, and make any desired change in the size of the electoral districts, by enlargement or otherwise.

The foregoing is not the final draft, but any further changes will only be slight verbal improvements.

A decided source of strength to the Proportional Representation Amendment is that it is launched in such good company as that of the

other three measures mentioned in the circular. The law providing for the People's Selection of United States Senator is so short that I quote it here in full.

"PEOPLE'S SELECTION UNITED STATES SENATOR. A Bill for a law to instruct the members of the Legislative Assembly to vote for and elect the people's choice for United States Senator from Oregon.

"Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon:

"Section 1. That we, the people of the State of Oregon, hereby instruct our representatives and senators in our legislative assembly, as such officers, to vote for and elect the candidates for United States Senator from this State who receive the highest number of votes at our general elections."

The French Situation.

THE POSITION of affairs in France is as follows:

The question of Proportional Representation was referred to the parliamentary commission on universal suffrage, and that body has reported in favor of a bill prepared by M. Etienne Flandin, providing for Proportional Representation in French parliamentary elections. The main features of this bill are as follows:

Each department is one electoral district, from which is elected a member of the Chamber of Deputies for each 75,000 inhabitants, unless this means more than ten deputies, in which case the department is divided into electoral districts.

The names of candidates are printed on the ballot of party lists. Each elector has as many votes as there are seats to be filled in his district with power to cumulate his votes as he pleases.

The d'Hondt quota is used. Seats are assigned to the parties and individuals in the way usual with free-list plans.

Substitutes are provided for, if needed, by filling vacancies from unsuccessful candidates of the party in which the vacancy occurs.

Considerable difference of opinion appears to exist as to detail, and several counter propositions have been made and published in *Le Proportionnaliste*. The main point in controversy is panachage or no panachage: that is, shall the elector be allowed to "scratch his ticket?"

The grave events in the south of France have had the effect of directing public opinion favorably towards electoral reform, and that reform means *la représentation proportionnelle*.

Some very successful demonstrations in favor of Proportional Representation have taken place. The Electoral Reform group comprises about 250 members of the Chamber of Deputies.

Last summer the municipal council of Paris appointed a commission to consider and report upon a reorganization of the municipal electoral system of that great city. The commission has completed its report, which unanimously recommends that the one hundred members of the Paris municipal council be elected by Proportional Representation in multiple electoral districts, electing members varying in number from four to nine. This report is to be considered at the November session.

The foregoing news is condensed from *Le Proportionnaliste*, the Roubaix quarterly. Its coming January issue will probably contain some important news, including the way in which the Paris report was dealt with.

Austria.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION has been partially introduced into the elections of the Diet of the Province of Moravia, which consists of 149 members, elected by five distinct classes of electors. Thirty-six of these members are elected by the Hare system of Proportional Representation. Thirty of them represent the large landed proprietors, and the remaining six the chambers of commerce at Brünn and Olmutz. The first election was held in December, 1906.

This information comes from the British Blue Book, and is given by Mr. Richard Seymour, a member of the British legation at Vienna.

Germany.

MR. FAIRFAX L. CARTWRIGHT, in reporting to Earl Grey concerning Bavaria and Wurtemberg, states that the following elections are to be conducted by a system of Proportional Representation, not stating what system:

For the Artisans' Arbitration Courts of the town of Munich.

For the Diet of Wurtemberg, twenty-three members.

Municipal elections in Wurtemberg in towns above 10,000 inhabitants.

Count Hohenthal has introduced into the Legislature of Saxony a project of law providing for the election by Proportional Representation of the members of that body—the Saxon "Landtag."

Australia.

THE HON. J. H. Keating has been re-elected a senator from Tasmania for a second term of three years. Since his election he has been appointed minister for home affairs in the Commonwealth Government. Amongst the government measures to be submitted at the ensuing session of the Australian parliament is a

bill introducing the system of Preferential Voting at elections for the Senate and House of representatives. Senator Keating has kindly promised to send me a copy of the bill as finally passed, which it no doubt will be.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Canada.

NEWS OF INDUSTRIAL COÖPERATION.

BY HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON,
Of the Bureau of Civic and Industrial Research.

Sargent, Minnesota.

THE Right-Relationship League reports some interesting incidents in connection with the organization of a coöperative store at Sargent, in the southern part of Minnesota. There has for some time been a desire on the part of the people there for a store of their own, and at last Mr. H. F. Kezar, a prominent and well-to-do farmer and director in the local bank, started the organization of a store. He secured twenty-seven subscribers on the common joint-stock-company, unequally-owned plan, and they were about to complete their organization on this plan when an officer of the Right-Relationship League, on hearing of this movement held a consultation with the leaders and persuaded them to organize under the rules of the League, which gave them a truly coöperative organization. A meeting was called of the would-be stockholders which Mr. Tousley, secretary of the League, was invited to address. As evidence of the truly ardent interest taken in the coöperative movement by these hearty Western farmers, Mr. Tousley relates the following incident: "I made an error in looking up the time of my train and so could not arrive at the meeting except by going to Hayfield, arriving there at 9:30 P. M., and then driving to Sargent, a distance of eight miles. I first telephoned from Minneapolis and asked whether the meeting would await my arrival. Receiving a favorable answer I took the train and on arriving at Hayfield I again telephoned, as the train was nearly one hour late, and received the reply that they were all waiting for me to come. I made the eight-mile drive and began talking coöperation to this group of loyal farmers at 11

P. M. It was two o'clock in the morning before the meeting adjourned and yet nearly every person remained to the end."

They now have 37 subscribers, and this is the third store in the Dodge County Coöperative Company.

Another store has been organized at Mason, Minnesota, which is in the Le Sueur County Coöperative Company.

Aurelia, Iowa.

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at Aurelia, Iowa, is one of the best equipped in the state, and it is getting three-fourths of all the grain shipped from this point although there are over 250 farmers who market their grain at Aurelia, and but one hundred and thirty members belong to this company.

During the winter of 1906 the farmers began to ship their grain individually because of the unsatisfactory treatment they were receiving at the hands of the Line elevator people. They found this to be more profitable to them, even allowing for the extra expense incurred in making individual shipments. Finally in the latter part of January, 1907, a call to organize a coöperative elevator company was sent out to the neighboring farmers. About 100 farmers responded and \$5,000 was subscribed at the first meeting, which was raised to \$7,000 before the week was over. After organizing they tried to purchase one of the local elevators already established at that town, but none of them were willing to sell, so application was made to the Illinois Central Railroad for a site upon which to build an elevator and after waiting two months for an answer they appealed to the State Board of Railway Commissioners.

After a delay of another month they sent a committee to Des Moines to ascertain the cause of such procrastination, and they soon learned that certain members of the Board of Railroad Commissioners cared more for the interests of the three members of the Iowa Grain Dealers' Association who were doing business in Aurelia than for the interests of the 150 farmers who were interested in the Farmers' Elevator Company. After obtaining the aid of a Commissioner who was favorable to the coöperative movement, the Attorney General, the State Binder and Governor Cummins, they succeeded in securing a site for the elevator, which has a capacity of 40,000 bushels and has been handling grain since the 16th of July.

A Co-operating Family.

IN THE suburbs of Indianapolis there is a family of nine brothers and sisters who form a sort of coöperative colony among themselves. When their father, Nicholas Jose, died nine years ago, leaving them a small tract of land on the outskirts of Indianapolis, they decided to divide it among themselves, and each one of them built a cottage, the grounds being laid out with special regard to the general effect. A year or so later one of the women of the little colony persuaded the others to try running a dining-hall and kitchen coöperatively. A large dining-room and kitchen, with quarters above for the servants, was built in the central portion of the lot, and here the whole family with children of all ages gather daily for their three meals.

The plan is conducted on strict business principles and there is a president and secretary to look after the financial interests. Each member of the household is charged with so much per capita, and guests are charged to the family who invites them. Absence does not permit a rebate except when it amounts to three times running.

Each family has its own dining table, so that their living coöperatively in no way interferes with the separate home-life of the various members. The managing and the marketing is divided among the women of the family, and each in turn a month at a time has charge of that department.

The friendly rivalry that exists between the women to see which one shall be the best manager brings into the dining-room the best that the market affords, and the rivalry between the men shows in their endeavor to keep the surrounding lawns beautiful.

Richards, Iowa

THE Farmers' Elevator Company at Richards, Iowa, has been organized a little over a year, and since its start it has been very successful. It has 102 stockholders among the best farmers of the country. The elevator was completed at a cost of \$3,700, and ready to receive grain on December 5, 1906. A corn crib and coal house were built later. The grain, coal and twine handled to July 1, 1907, were as follows: 48,413 bushels of corn handled at a profit of \$811, 50,000 bushels of oats handled at a profit of \$6,630 and, 9,900 pounds of twine handled at a profit of \$85.85.

Cincinnati Tobacco Factory.

THE People's Coöperative Cigar and Tobacco Company of 1504 Elm street, Cincinnati, Ohio, began the manufacturing of cigars, etc., in October. The company has twenty-two working members at present and an increase is expected. The company was formed several weeks ago, its stockholders including several druggists and saloon-keepers.

Selma, California.

THE Selma Rochdale Company of Selma California, is in a most prosperous condition. Manager Byrnes states that they have 153 members, and that their sales are now averaging \$250 per day, or about \$7,060 a month.

Charles City, Iowa.

THE Farmers' Coöperative Elevator Company of Charles City, Iowa, has been trying since May 15, 1907, to get a site on the Illinois Central Railroad for their coal sheds. For some time the railroad advanced plausible excuses for their delay in granting the land requested, but on July 7th they refused outright to make the grant. The Elevator Company applied to the Iowa Board of Railroad Commissioners, and on October 8th they handed down their decision instructing the railroad to comply with the request of the Farmers' Elevator Company, and designating the land to be given them, but as yet the manager of the Elevator Company cannot get the railroad to get the land ready for their sheds.

Co-operative University Courses.

THE University of Cincinnati is offering what it designates as coöperative courses in engineering. This work has been carefully planned by Mr. Hermann Schneider, and the classes are so arranged that the student,

taking the course work alternate weeks in the engineering college of the University and at the manufacturing shops of the city. The whole is a six years' course, and the work is carefully mapped out under the supervision of the Dean of the Engineering College. The students are paid for their services, their total earnings in the six years amounting to about \$2,000.

Attleboro Jewelry Association.

THE MANUFACTURING jewelry association known as the R. F. Simmons Company of Attleboro, Massachusetts, have for five years, had a system of coöperative profit-sharing in operation in their factory, and have found it very successful, not as a work of philanthropy but as a purely business proposition. The employés are more steady, there has been a noticeable increase in production, and moreover a friendly coöperative spirit pervades the shops.

Superior Stevedore Association.

A MOST successful coöperative association, which has existed for a number of years, has just been reported to the public. It is the Superior Stevedore Association of Superior, Wisconsin, and is the only coöperative employment association in America, though there are numbers of these associations in various foreign countries, notably in New Zealand. The society was organized over eight years ago for the purpose of taking charge of the loading and unloading of the vessels and cars at the Great Northern freight warehouses in Superior, Wisconsin. There was formerly a great deal of trouble over strikes and the inability of contractors to carry out their contracts. This state of affairs continued until the coöperative organization was made. The company consists of the old-time workingmen at the docks, and they run affairs and employ the men. They are hired at the same rate as the other men and whatever profit accrues is divided among the members of the association. The hourly wage started at 20 cents, was later raised at 27½ cents, and the society has been so successful that they are now paying 32½ cents an hour for night labor and 30 cents for day work.

Co-operative Amusement.

One of the most novel coöperative enterprises yet reported is about to be started at Rockaway Beach, New York. The residents

of the place propose to establish and operate a sensational amusement of some rare and untried sort, the exact character of which cannot be described, until one tries it. The proceeds are to be divided partly among the subscribers after the expenses are paid and partly to the inventors of the device.

Cornell Society.

THE Cornell Coöperative Society, which conducts a student's store, has declared a dividend of 8 per cent. on last year's business. It is announced that hereafter not only members of the society but all university purchasers will share in the profits.

Persian Co-operative Association.

ONE OF the American Consuls in Persia writes of the formation of an American Citizen's Coöperative Association in Persia. He suggests a market for American shoes and plows particularly. The name of the president of the association is on file with the Bureau of Manufactures in Washington.

An English Garden City.

GARDEN CITY at Letchworth, England, where an attempt is being made to establish model homes for working people, has an interesting plan for making coöperative housekeeping possible. Several houses are to be built around three sides of a quadrilateral, each house separate except that there will be a common dining hall. This house with the servant's quarter will be in a central building, connected with each house by a roofed clozier. Meals may be eaten in the common dining-room or for a small extra charge, may be served in the separate houses. The rent of the houses is to be from \$100 to \$225 a year. A special place may be provided for musical practice so that the non-musical tenants may be freed from annoyance, and there will be restrictions on pets, but none on children, for whom a separate playground with all modern improvements will be provided. It is said that there is little doubt but that the coöperative plan will pay, as already there have been a great number of applications for houses.

Sidney, Australia.

A CO-OPERATIVE coal-mining company has been organized among the striking miners of Sydney, Australia, with a capital of \$75,000, divided into 30,000 shares of \$2.50 each.

HAZEL HAMMOND ALBERTSON.

REV. R. J. CAMPBELL AND THE NEW THEOLOGY.*

A BOOK STUDY.

By B. O. FLOWER

LAST month we reviewed at length the luminous and profoundly scholarly work of Professor Otto Pfeiderer on *Religion and Historic Faiths*, in which the great leader of higher criticism in Germany outlined the religious concepts of the new theological movement which promises to do so much toward bringing about a genuine spiritual renaissance within the pale of orthodox Protestantism. This month we wish to call the attention of our readers to the latest work by the Rev. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London, the leader of the New Theology in Great Britain.

Certain things mark the writings of the leaders of this movement which were very conspicuous in the teachings of the Great Nazarene, especially when contrasted with the conventional or accepted theology of His time. Here, as with the great Master, we find allegiance to the spirit that maketh alive rather than to the letter that killeth; a passion for truth overmastering the bondage of tradition, liberating the spirit from the prison-house of fear and making it so robust of faith that it dares look every truth squarely in the face, knowing that all truth is of God and that the volume of Nature contains the story of the Creator's handiwork, a companion revelation to that which has come from the spiritual founts of enlightenment in capital ages; knowing that every added truth, instead of imperilling the vital Divine Word, merely removes some veil-like shroud, that the heart of the message may be revealed to an age ready for what they of an earlier day could not comprehend save by means of illustrations, parables or illuminating allegories. Wedded to this passion for truth which is one of the most striking characteristics of the leaders of the spiritual renaissance now dawning, and which was so conspicuous in the teachings of Jesus that he was constantly charged with blasphemy and faithless

ness to what the Pharisees and strict constructionists or worshipers of the letter regarded as essential in their religion, we find an enthusiasm for humanity, a love for the people, an allegiance to the idea of justice and righteousness, together with a recognition of the law of solidarity which was so impressively taught by the Nazarene when he insisted on the common Fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man,—the recognition of a Deity whose essence was love, whose relation was that of a tender parent and who would have His children all one family, all co-workers, bound together by a common interest, the love of brothers.

It is indeed good to hear again the brave plea for social justice ringing from the pulpit as it comes from the pastor of the City Temple of London, when he tells his hearers that if the church "were true to her Master's mind, she could have no truce with a social order in which the weak have to go to the wall and cruelty and oppression are inevitable." And again: "Coöperation must replace competition; brotherhood must replace individualism; the weakest (morally and physically) must be the objects of the tenderest care which the community can show; selfishness must be driven out by love. This is the whole Christian program; nothing less than this represents the mind of Jesus, and nothing other than this ought ever to have been preached in His name. It is quite simple and clear, and yet it is plain to all the world that the Church has somehow got so far away from it that the masses of the people have ceased to understand that she ever held it."

This recognition of the law of solidarity and enthusiasm for humanity, wedded to unwavering faith and moral courage that is born of worship of the spirit rather than of the letter not only mark the new spiritual movement, but, being instinct with the religious power that characterized the life and work of Jesus and which dominated the

*New Theology Sermons. By Rev. R. J. Campbell. M. A. Cloah Pp. 204. Price \$1.25 net. New York: The MacMillan Company.

early church, promise great things for individual upliftment and the early triumph of a social order that shall recognize the interdependence of the units in the social organism and understand that that which lifts one exalts all, and that which harms one injures all.

How different in its appeal to the reason and spiritual perceptions is the growing insistence of Mr. Campbell on the social duty of the church from the pharisaical casuistry of those who claim to be ministers of the Christian religion and yet whose desire for material wealth that shall make the church appear great, leads them to accept tainted gold and apologize for their recreancy to the moral standard set up by their Master. The well spring of action in the one case is spiritual life or moral idealism; in the other it is the dominance of materialism, unconscious, perhaps, but none the less real. It is the belief that the power of gold, no matter from what polluted source it comes, can make the church greater and more powerful than fearless allegiance to austere morality and spiritual idealism. To hold such belief is to confess that materialism is greater than the spiritual verities that are the soul of religion.

But enthusiasm for humanity is only one aspect of the new theology movement. Here we have courage and faith that dares to think and reason.

"The conventional exchatology of the Churches is both incoherent and untrue," says Mr. Campbell. "It is so because in reality it takes for granted a view of the structure of the universe which no one believes or can believe to-day, and tries to square this view with the facts of life as we know it—a perfectly hopeless task."

The apostles of the higher criticism are children of faith,—that rugged, sturdy faith that dares to think, to search for the truth, to fearlessly and candidly face every new problem, to freely use God's great gift to man, his reason. These scholars know that modern research and the investigations of the civilizations preceding, contemporary with and immediately subsequent to the founding of the Christian religion have greatly enlarged the borders of human knowledge. They also know that the comparative study of the great historic faiths that have influenced the thought of earth's millions in various ages since the dawn of civilization has opened up new vistas of truth, rich in suggestive lessons

for those who dare to use their reasoning powers; and finally, they know that every new page turned in the great volume of Nature reveals another lesson writ by the Divine Architect and Creator for the instruction of His children, be it found in the strata of the earth, in the unfolding of life of the plant world, in the upward striving of animal creation, or in the limitless ether where swing the shining lamps of God—the unnumbered suns and worlds. And in the presence of all these things the higher critic goes forth with heart thrilling and exulting with the joy of a man who feels he is entering a new world of truth.

The wealth of facts brought to light by modern research shows him, however, that much was held to be inspired truth in ages when man's knowledge was necessarily very limited, must be given up. He remembers how the church fought the Copernican theory and how poor Galileo was imprisoned and compelled to deny what he knew to be the truth, because the church held that the new truth was contradicted by the positive statements of the Bible. Moreover, he understands that much truth that was given in earlier days came to man at a time when the millions were not sufficiently enlightened to receive the truth save by story, object-lesson, parable or allegory. Thus he comes to understand that many of the wonder-stories of the Bible are parables, allegories or myths which clothe vital truths but which cannot be accepted as literal facts in the light of the wider knowledge of our time. But he is not disconcerted, for he knows that the frank recognition of the facts, instead of sweeping away the temple of Eternal Truth, merely removes the scaffolding that was once necessary but is now a screen that hides the glorious edifice. Behind the allegory, myth or parable, lie the edifice great eternal spiritual truths that are redemptive in character. And this new concept that is the fruit of rugged faith and truth-seeking reason brings a great new joy into the heart, lighting again the candles of moral enthusiasm and spiritual fervor on the altars of the soul. To these men man's increase of knowledge resultant from the advance of physical science, archeological investigation and historical and critical research relating to the past, have served to lift the soul to a higher eminence from which religion and man's duty appear more beautiful and clearly defined than ever before. The new concepts

that come with the broadened vision are higher and finer than the old ideals, just as the teachings of Jesus were broader, freer and truer than the narrow teachings of the Mosaic dispensation.

In speaking of the essential mission of the church, Mr. Campbell, voicing the ideal of the apostles of the new theology, says:

"What we have now to make plain to the world is that as Christianity is the gospel of the Kingdom of God—that is, the glad tidings of the reign of love—salvation must consist in ceasing to be selfish and being filled instead with the spirit of Christ. The reason for trying to establish the Kingdom of God here is that humanity is one and immortal, and must make a beginning somewhere if it is to fulfil its destiny in accordance with the will of God. There is no absolute dividing line between the hither and the yonder; life also is one, and if a man leaves this world ignorant and debased, ignorant and debased he will begin on the farther side of death. The object of the Christian evangel is to turn every selfish being into a loving being, every sinner into a saviour, in order that the Kingdom of God may be fully realized."

The twenty chapters of this volume present in a clear and earnest manner the leading points that differentiate the new theology from the older dogmas. The spirit is broad and tolerant throughout. Rarely, indeed, do we find a religious work that deals with doctrines that is so free from the bitterness and rancor, the aggressive assertiveness and the militant spirit, that are supposed to be present in controversial theological writings; and though the claims of the apostles of higher criticism are admirably set forth, it is done in such a manner as to make the doctrinal theories subordinate to the spiritual message as it relates to the life that now is. The whole work is a prophet's high appeal to the highest and best in man; an appeal to tread out the weeds of selfishness and immorality, that the flowers of the spirit may grow in the beauty of perfection; to live the life of the Nazarene, and thus move Godward as step by step man advances toward the morning land of the soul.

Here we have an admirable exposition of the newer and, we think, higher concept of the Atonement—an explanation that does not affront the reason or outrage the sense of justice. Here, too, our author shows how the higher critics of the orthodox churches

view Jesus. He is the *Dixine Man*, but not after the flesh. He calls our attention to the teachings of the Græco-Jewish philosophical school of Alexandria, which antedated the Gospel of John in which the theory of the Divine Man or the Logos was advanced,—a theory with which Paul no less than the Johannine writers was familiar. These facts, so necessary to an intelligent understanding of the position of the higher critics, are briefly but very intelligently presented. The following passage dealing with the influence of Grecian thought on the mind of Paul, and of the Græco-Jewish concepts of the Divine Man, will serve to illustrate the author's method of presenting his doctrinal views in a work dealing chiefly with the spiritual verities that make for a true and useful life.

"I think if I were to take out of St. Paul's Epistles every citation from a Greek master it would occasion some of you a certain amount of surprise to realize the extent of his indebtedness to Greek thinkers no less than to his own Jewish teachers. For centuries before the Roman conquest of Asia Minor Palestine had formed a part of the Syra-Greek dominion of the Ptolemies, and it was at one time a question whether Jewish civilization, and even Jewish religion, would not be permanently assimilated to Greek models. It was to prevent that, in fact, that a century and a half before Jesus was born the great national insurrection of the Maccabees took place. At this very moment, too, a great Græco-Jewish intellectual center had grown up in the city of Alexandria, where one of the most eminent of ancient thinkers, Philo, a contemporary of Jesus, taught a doctrine in which something like the theory of the Divine Man was worked out and made the keystone of the system. There was, too, in existence at this time a vast apocalyptic literature, only one perfect specimen of which has come down to us—I mean the Book of Daniel. This book seems to have been written either immediately before or during the Maccabean insurrection, to hearten the people of Israel against their oppressors. There is one remarkable allusion in that book to the contemporary belief in the existence of the archetypal Divine Man—you know the passage I mean. It is that wherein we are told that Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego were cast into the burning fiery furnace because they refused to worship the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. The

whole story is, of course, figurative, parabolic, but it is told with intense dramatic power. The tyrant inquires, 'Did we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? . . . Behold, I see four men loose, walking in the midst of the fire, and they have no hurt; and the form of the fourth is like a son of God.' Here is a distinct allusion to this Græco-Jewish conception of the Divine Man, who is author and architect of all that is in this wonderful universe of ours. I say that St. Paul was no stranger to this idea, which, indeed, colors all his thinking. It lends him inspiration for his great and noble work, for to him the Divine Man was Jesus, or perhaps it would be better to say that the one perfect incarnation of the Divine Man on earth was Jesus. St. Paul regarded this as the greatest discovery of his life. He never tried to smooth away all the inconsistencies or obscurities of his mode of presenting this truth to his converts. He took it for granted. He preached it in season and out of season."

But, as we have observed, the controversial is subordinated to the practical ethics or the spiritual message that glows in the light and warmth of the living truth on every page. Here are a few passages from the chapter in which our author considers the thought of St. Paul when he says, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain."

"The life that Jesus lived, he maintained, is the life that we ought all to seek to live. It is the life that God has meant for us; that is, we too ought to manifest the Divine Man. We already belong to Him, but to realize that fact and to live in the spirit of it is to escape from the bondage of sin and dread, and to live the life that is eternal. This is what this great man means by the saying, 'To me to live is Christ.' He means that the true life for any man to live is the life that manifests the divine manhood from which we came forth and unto which, by the victory of redeeming love, we shall return.

"I believe that we are living now at the heart of things, only we do not realize it. The being of God is a circle with its center everywhere and its circumference nowhere. Everywhere is here. Everywhen is now. Life is not a matter of hither and yonder, but of higher and lower. We are here to manifest, against the dark background of limitation, the nature of the Divine Man.

There is no other way of manifesting Him. To manifest Christ perfectly in a world that had never known pain or struggle would be impossible. . . . Every loving thought and deed knits us in closer and ever closer fellowship to the eternal truth. Conversely, every selfish, material desire blinds us to that truth. Every act of sin prepares its own hell, and there can be no escaping it, for God is not mocked.

'I sent my soul through the Invisible,
Some letter of that After-life to spell;
And by-and-by my Soul returned to me,
And whispered, "I myself am Heaven and Hell."

"Faith in Christ is faith in love, the love of man wedded to the love of God. Nothing in the long run can prevail against that love in this world or the next. It makes hell; it is heaven. I believe that the mere crossing of the mysterious gulf called physical death matters very little. It only means a change of lights. The wicked man finds that he has been living by false values, and the good man finds how much more has yet to be learned and how many richer depths of the divine nature are yet to be plumbed. One thing we shall all find, and that is that the truest life is the life that Jesus lived. That is the eternal life, whether here or beyond, this side or the father side of the tomb."

"The Risen Christ" is the title of a chapter very rich in spiritual truth, the following extracts from which will give some idea of the author's thought:

"Let Christ rise in victory over all the forces of harm and hate, and this world would be heaven, for heaven is only the perfect expression of eternal love. Is it not beautifully simple? And can you not feel that it is grandly true? Jesus lived and died for it, and those who love and believe in Him must go on doing the same until the world is filled with all the fullness of God.

"I believe the day will come when men will recognize the universe to be wholly spiritual. The veil which separates seen from unseen will be taken away, and mortality shall be swallowed up of life. . . . As soon as this world has become the expression of perfect and eternal love the so-called material will melt into the spiritual, and death will be no more. This New Testament idea is based upon a perception which I feel must be the fundamental truth about the universe of God.

"Now let me try to show you the way in which you and I stand related to this truth. Remember that the one great thing demonstrated by the resurrection of Jesus was that evil has no power to harm a child of God. It may make him suffer for a little while, but it can do nothing to diminish the moral power of his life. In so far as your life is a manifestation of the spirit of Christ it will rise triumphant over the cross and tomb.

"If ever any of you young men feel tempted to take the side of the strong against the weak, forbear! Things are not what they seem. Weakness in union with love and loyalty to truth is strength, although the world may not know it for the moment. Never play the coward's part; you would never dream of doing so if you could see life as it really is. Believe me, the highest is not only the true but the strong; and you will be held to account for whatever use you make of the vision God grants you."

One is tempted to quote far beyond the limits of a review, and space forbids our

making further extended quotations. The chapters, however, dealing with "The Resurrection Power," "The Ever-Present Christ," "Sin and Salvation," "From Death to Life," "The Atoning Will," "The Mistake of Sin," "Love Destroying and Restoring," "The Cleansing Life," "The Angel of the Soul," "Believing Prayer," and "Sweetening the Waters of Marah" are rich in vital spiritual messages that will appeal with great force to the heart in search of truth. We close this review with a brief gem from the chapter on "Sweetening the Waters of Marah":

"Life is one long miracle to the child of God. Everything is made to contribute to the upbuilding of the soul if we only expect it. It is foolish to think that we are meant to go on drinking the waters of bitterness when they might become the gushing fountains of eternal life. It is difficult to know how to put the case strongly enough, but suppose we try to do it this way: God is eternal life, love and joy. These things are the heritage of His people, and we ought to claim them."

B. O. FLOWER.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Robert Owen: A Biography. By Frank Podmore. With 44 Illustrations and two photogravure plates. Cloth. Two volumes. Pp. 686. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

IT IS impossible even approximately to estimate the debt which civilization owes to Rousseau, Montesquieu, Diderot and other advanced thinkers of the France of the eighteenth century. Their thought largely shaped the ideas of men like Jefferson and Franklin, who later were to play master parts in the formation of the greatest democratic republic known to history. It made inevitable the overthrow of the rotten French monarchy with its heartless throne, aristocracy and priestly class; it reawakened the liberal aspirations and ideals of England; and, finally, it led to far more than even the great political upheaval and emancipation which marked the dawn of the age of democracy.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

The thought of Rousseau and his disciples and comrade spirits was the germinal influence that fostered the revolutionary advance in education and humanitarian reforms; while their theories, scattered broadcast during the eighteenth century, awakened the new social ideals that later led to coöperative movements, to a union of industrial forces and to the early socialistic movements, such as that led by Robert Owen.

These thoughts were suggested by reading Mr. Frank Podmore's extensive and very impartial life of Robert Owen which has recently appeared. Mr. Owen when a lad became an omnivorous reader, and though he seemed unconscious of the fact, the germinal ideas of the great French thinkers, that bore fruit in almost every liberal author's work that wrote on politics, education, religion, and social or economic conditions after the American and French revolutions, fell into the fallow soil of his fertile imagination and active brain, later to bear fruit in his broadly humanistic and just work in the

New Lanark mills, in his model school, and in his many innovations looking toward emancipating the toilers from age-long bondage, broadening the mental horizon of the people and hastening the era in which peace, good-will and to social justice should prevail.

Robert Owen's life was far more germinal and productive in influence and character than appears from a superficial study of the same, though no one familiar with his work at New Lanark and his subsequent labors in England can fail to be impressed with the tremendous influence which he exerted in many directions. He may be called the father of the advanced and rational educational movement in England. He was also in a large way one of the promoting spirits of the coöperative movement which was later started at Rochdale and which has grown to be one of the greatest economic advance movements of our time. He was a master spirit in bringing the workers together and in organizing the movement that found florescence in the great labor union organizations of later date. He was also a John the Baptist of modern socialism, doing precisely the kind of educational work that prepared economic investigators and thinkers to accept a clear-cut and well wrought out philosophy such as that written by Karl Marx while he was an exile in London. His American experiment at New Harmony, Indiana, was foredoomed to failure owing to a combination of circumstances and facts, and that failure impaired the influence of Mr. Owen in England; while his early liberal religious views, which antagonized many churchmen who otherwise would have been with him in carrying forward his educational and social innovations, were far more palatable to the people in general than those he later entertained, in which he frankly accepted the spiritualistic hypothesis and advocated the claims of modern spiritualism. He was a pioneer among the great thinkers of the nineteenth century who accepted spiritualism, and he arrived at the same conclusions which later were reached by Dr. Alfred Russel Wallace, Sir William Crookes, Camille Flammarion and Cesare Lombroso. When Owen accepted this philosophy, however, those who declared in its favor were everywhere the targets for abuse and ridicule, and very often they were socially ostracized and in every possible manner discredited. It is not strange, therefore, that Owen's insistence on

what he believed to be a great religious truth which would potentially elevate and transform society served to weaken his influence in social and educational fields during the closing years of his life,—a life that was very rich in interest and suggestive lessons and which in a large way embraced much of the vital social, economic and political history of the England of his day.

Mr. Podmore has aimed to give the reader a strictly fair and unbiassed biography, and in this attempt he has succeeded far better than have most biographical writers of modern times. The work is an extremely valuable contribution to the literature of the social and educational advance movement that arose as a complement to the political advance born of the era of democracy.

The social and economic movements that Mr. Owen was so largely instrumental in organizing in the England and America of his day are advancing with accelerated speed. Men are coming to see more and more clearly that democratic government means political emancipation, but so long as there is no industrial emancipation the freedom that was the dream of the fathers of the movement for equality of opportunities and of rights is impossible of realization. Hence they are calling for the complementing of political freedom by industrial freedom, or the abolition of privilege through which the few exploit and enslave the many.

This work comprises two large volumes, is handsomely gotten up and richly illustrated. It is a book that social reformers should possess.

Abraham Lincoln. By Robert G. Ingersoll. Cloth. Pp. 100. Price 75 cents net, postage 10 cents. New York: John Lane Company.

THE NINETEENTH century has given us few such fine specimens of forensic oratory as Robert G. Ingersoll's great lectures on Abraham Lincoln and William Shakespeare. The first of these masterpieces has just appeared from the press of the John Lane Company in a neat cloth-bound volume of one hundred pages. It is something that all young Americans should read. We are far enough now from the passion and prejudice of the Civil War to be able to be just and judicial in viewing the heroic men on both sides of that great struggle; and looking back from the vantage-ground of almost half a

century, we see two figures whose fame grows with the vanishing years: Abraham Lincoln, the great-hearted, simple, sincere and wisely just statesman; and Robert E. Lee, the great southern general who followed the dictates of his conscience and strove nobly and with that degree of honor, courage and manhood that marks the true hero, to win victory for the people to whom he believed he owed first allegiance.

Colonel Ingersoll's lecture on Lincoln is one of the finest and most just tributes that has been offered to the memory of the Great Emancipator. It is an American classic, but it is far more. It contains the high idealism that the life of Lincoln should inspire in his eulogists and which cannot fail to infect the imagination and influence helpfully every one who reads it.

We sincerely trust that this house will soon bring out Colonel Ingersoll's companion lecture on William Shakespeare. Since the death of Colonel Ingersoll this great lecture has not gained anything like the general circulation that it merits.

Foundations of Expression. By S. S. Curry, Ph.D., Litt.D. Cloth. Pp. 320. Boston: The Expression Company.

WE KNOW of no writer on things relating to voice culture, the art of expression and the development of the organs of speech, so necessary to public speaking, reading and dramatic interpretation, who possesses in so great a degree the interior vision, the deep, penetrating insight so necessary to a masterly and luminous exposition of the subject, as does Professor Curry. He is a thinker who goes to the foundation of the subject under consideration and seizes on the basic principles and applies them in a clear and easily understandable manner. Many writers and teachers of oratory, dramatic expression and voice culture are extremely superficial. They pay little attention to the mental problem involved, to the thought behind the spoken word, or to the passions and emotions expressed. Not so with this author, and for this reason no less than the fact that the foundation principles and mental problems are presented in connection with luminous practical instruction in the cultivation and development of voice and emotional expression, this last volume will appeal to all the more thoughtful of our people interested in

the subject treated. It is greatly to be regretted that the newspapers and the theater have largely taken the place of the lyceum of half a century ago; for, as Professor Curry well observes:

"The Muse of Eloquence and the Muse of Liberty, it has been said, are twin sisters. A free people must be a race of speakers. The perversion or neglect of oratory has always been accompanied by the degradation of freedom.

"The importance of speaking to a true national life, and to the forwarding of all reforms, can hardly be overestimated; but it is no less necessary to the development of the individual. Expression is the manifestation of life, and speaking in some form is vitally necessary for the assimilation of truth and the awakening to a consciousness of personal power.

"Since the invention of printing, the written word has been overestimated in education, and living speech has been greatly neglected. Recent discoveries of the necessity of developing the motor centers have revived interest in the living voice."

In speaking of the usual partial treatment of the vital subject he is considering, our author says:

"The usual view is that every defect in the use of the voice is associated with some local constriction, and that for every abnormal habit or action some exercise to restore the specific part can always be found. While this is true, it is but half a truth. Every abnormal action or condition has its cause in the mind. Hence technical training must always be united with work for the removal of the causes of faults, and for the awakening of the primary actions and conditions. This enables the student to become himself conscious of right modes of expression, develops him without imitation or mechanical rules, and produces no artificial results. Even when the right technical exercise is prescribed for a fault in reading or speaking it is often ineffective on account of wrong or mechanical practice on the part of the student, or a lack of attention on the part of teacher or student to the real psychological causes of the abnormal conditions."

The two purposes hinted at above are kept ever in view by the author and are emphasized in so clear and practical a manner as to be readily grasped by the thoughtful student.

The work contains twenty-two chapters devoted to such subjects as the following: "Unprinted Elements of Expression," "Concentration and Its Expression," "Attitude of Mind and Inflection," "Response of the Organism," "Conditions and Qualities of Voice," "Voice and Body," "Logical Relations of Ideas," "Modes of Emphasis," "Spontaneous Actions of the Mind and Modulations of the Voice," "Tone-Color," "Moulding Tone into Words," "Force and Its Expression," "Support and Strength of Voice," "Flexibility of Voice," "Assimilation and Sympathy," "Movement," "Action," and "Unity of Delivery."

Many of the chapters are subdivided into a number of important divisions. In all cases the subjects are handled in a masterly manner. It is a book that it is a pleasure to recommend.

The Politics of Utility By James MacKaye.
Paper. Price 50 cents net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WITH AN impervious armor of facts and a relentless logic, Mr. MacKaye marches on in this volume to certain definite and far-reaching conclusions. In a previous volume, having formulated the theory of the technology of happiness, his object in the present volume is to apply it, to exhibit it as an actual working test of proposed or practical policies.

The five chapters of which the book is composed treat respectively of "The Social Mechanism," "Competition," "Private and Public Monopoly," "Pantocracy," and "The Next Step." His conclusion concerning competition is that it has not a single good point. On every vital issue it is opposed to a just system. There is no more dismal delusion than that of its beneficence. It is a mechanism for maintaining and continually increasing an output of unhappiness.

Of monopoly he declares: "If the nation does not own the monopolies, the monopolies will own the nation." And again: "Socialism is but consistent democracy." "It is founded upon the same principle upon which democracy is founded." In other words, this author would have us democratize industry as well as government.

The chapter on "Pantocracy" is one of great force. Theoretically it is unanswerable. That pantocracy is found to stand every test whereby competition has failed is the general

conclusion. Competition, according to the author, is a mechanism which nature employs to attain a single specified end, adaptability to survive. Under it more unhappiness than happiness is produced by humanity. Under pantocracy this would be reversed. Unhappiness would be reduced to the minimum and happiness increased to the maximum.

The great object of life is not to create wealth but to create happiness. It is not merely to build towns, but to build *happy* towns. There is no hurry about the development of our resources. Let them wait until a system is discovered whereby these resources may be used to produce happiness rather than misery. Until we in America can work out this experiment let immigration be prohibited and a protective system kept in force. Then let pantocracy be tried—on a small scale at first, but as fast as its utility is demonstrated let it be extended. When its success is established here it will be adopted by the nations of the earth.

The scheme is beautiful, inspiring and well reasoned. The danger is that some refined, subtle but powerful elements may have been unseen or neglected. For example, the author claims that the competitive system produces more unhappiness than happiness. This cannot be proved. To make the assertion is to ignore certain spiritual forces which often rise superior to environment. It is also to ignore the adaptive power of nature. I doubt if any system of human government or industry, including slavery, except in a limited or temporary form, ever produced more misery than happiness. The spirit can rise above disease, want, bereavement, slavery, imprisonment and death. In a certain sense every man is the master of his fate, "the captain of his soul." The early Christians taught the world lessons along this line, and later our Christian Science brethren have reinforced this view. Byron shows how the Prisoner of Chillon becomes reconciled even to his dungeon. We all know how hope springs eternal in the human breast; and so I doubt if even competition, with all its horrors, has produced more unhappiness than happiness. But that it produces too much unhappiness all must admit. That there is a better way no sane man after reading this book can doubt. But the book must be taken in a broad and generous sense. The reader must not stumble over single utterances. Let him study well the author's argument, find his meaning, mark well his conclusions, and then

answer if he can. But let him answer fairly and in view of all the facts. He may be able to set aside some minor inferences, but to overthrow the general conclusion, that in order to reach the highest production of human happiness the world must adopt some system other than the competition of to-day, he will find a Herculean task.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Beyond Good and Evil. Prelude to a Philosophy of the Future. By Friedrich Nietzsche. Authorized translation by Helen Zimmern. Cloth. Pp. 268. Price, \$1.50 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

AS A THINKER Nietzsche penetrates to the depths—far beyond the point where the ordinary mind can follow. He sees things in their higher and therefore to the world in seemingly new relations. He is in some sense the Copernicus of modern philosophy. Take for example this statement:

"The great epochs of our life are the points when we gain courage to rebaptize our badness as the best in us."

What a wealth of meaning, what a depth of philosophy to those who have the understanding heart, and yet what nonsense, not to say blasphemy, to those who do not understand.

The book is to be read and meditated on by the few. To the multitude it will be simply the massing of words, words without coherence and almost without meaning; and indeed there are too many, but yet the volume has flashes of wit and many luminous passages. What could be more neatly turned than this?

"To seduce their neighbor to a favorable opinion, and afterwards to believe implicitly in this opinion of their neighbor—who can do this conjuring trick so well as women?"

Or again, this:

"Poets act shamelessly toward their experiences; they exploit them."

On the other hand, the following, while profoundly true, would hardly be safe in the present age of the world to proclaim to the promiscuous assembly:

"Jesus said to the Jews: 'The law was for servants; love God as I love him, as his Son! What have we sons of God to do with morals?'"

The general impression made by the book is that it emanates from a mind of tremendous individuality, a mind perceiving things in an

unaccustomed light; that truth is ever in flux that what is true to one in the higher realm cannot be true to another nor to himself on successive days; and yet that there is a great and eternal verity which the soul may forever pursue though it may never fully grasp.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Japanese Nation in Evolution. By William Elliot Griffis, D.D., L.H.D. Cloth. Pp. 408. Price, \$1.25 net, postage 10 cents. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

FEW OCCIDENTAL writers are better qualified to intelligently treat of Japan and the Japanese than is Dr. Griffis. He was one of the first teachers to go to Japan after Commodore Perry opened her ports to the world. He has occupied a chair in the Imperial University of Japan and is the author of other notable works dealing with Japanese life, folk-lore, art and history. His writings evince a mastery of his subject that is rare among Western writers, and a deep sympathy with and admiration for Japan which make his pages glow with an interest never present when an author considers a subject in a colorless manner.

This volume is far more than a vivid and entertaining pen-picture of the wonderful unfoldment of Japan's national life during the past half century, as it evolved under the very gaze of the author; for here we find a luminous backward glance. Indeed, Dr. Griffis presents the most comprehensive and informing brief historical sketch of the rise of the Japanese people, from prehistoric times to the present, that we have seen from any Occidental source. The work is one that should find a place in all well-ordered libraries, as it contains precisely the very information that all intelligent people wish to possess about this wonderful people, presented in a most charming manner. The volume is beautifully illustrated with a number of full-page half-tone illustrations.

Hindu Literature; Or, The Ancient Books of India. By Elizabeth A. Reed, A.M. Cloth. Pp. 410. Price, \$1.50. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Company.

THIS is an extremely valuable work and one that will be welcomed by all who desire to obtain an intelligent conception of the great philosophies of India; for it presents in a brief, concise and yet thoroughly connected manner

an outline of the great sacred books of the East, with illuminating extracts from each. In the preparation of the volume Mrs. Reed consulted many of the foremost Oriental scholars, including Professor Max Müller and Sir M. Monier-Williams, of whom rendered valuable assistance in revising certain portions of the work. The quotations have been chosen from the best available translations. The work is arranged in chronological order and gives the reader a clear idea of the fundamental thought contained in the great religious books of India, including the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the *Code of Manu*, the *Upanishads*, the *Ramayana*, the *Maha-Bharata*, the *Bhagavad-Gita*, the *Puranas*, and the *Krishna* legends. Mrs. Reed has the gift of making her work as interesting as romance, and this fact, together with its accuracy of statement, renders the volume one of the most valuable books of the kind in the English language.

AMY C. RICH.

The British State Telegraphs. By Hugo Richard Meyer, sometime Assistant Professor in the University of Chicago. Cloth. Pp. 408. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THE THING which seems most of all to trouble ex-professor Meyer in regard to the public ownership problem in Great Britain is the fact that the employées of city and state have been able to secure an occasional advance in wages. Public ownership then is not so cheap as private ownership. The public servants even have the temerity to organize, and, worse still, to enter politics in order to secure a living wage. Their action is characterized as nothing less than bribery. They are parasites on the body politic.

The fact that for ages the common people of England have been deprived of the use of vast estates which are theirs by divine right, that they have been exploited by the powerful through special privilege and by every form of political trickery, weighs little with this author. Economy is his key-note. How to save on labor, avoid taxation and make profit on capital is the standpoint from which the book is written. To prove his contentions he gives tables of statistics which may or may not be misleading or even directly false. He claims to have made careful investigations, and few have time to follow him, but his work is open to suspicion. His conclusions are in the main directly contrary to those of the recent commis-

sion appointed to investigate public ownership in Great Britain. He writes as one who holds a brief for capitalistic interests. Those who read this or any one of the author's five volumes should keep in mind the standpoint from which he looks at things.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

We-Ism: The Religion of Humanity. By Captain W. E. P. French, U.S.A. Paper. Pp. 48. New York: The Wilshire Book Company.

THIS little booklet from the pen of Captain W. E. P. French, one of the valued contributors to THE ARENA, is full of admirable things, sometimes expressed in verse, at other times garmented in well-chosen prose, and all breathing the message of peace and good will that is coming from the hearts and lips of so many of the finest workers in the ranks of present-day Socialism. This book is instinct with the spirit of William Morris and Edward Bellamy. The following extracts from the "Creed of Collectivism" will give a fair idea of our author's thought:

"We believe in the Religion of Humanity, whose God is Love and in which Love is the fulfilling of the Law.

"We believe that from the Union of Communism and Coöperation shall be born the highest and freest Individuality to which the Human Race should justly attain.

"We believe in the Immortality of the Soul that is uncankered by Greed, Force, Fraud or Cruelty, and that is ripened by generous Thought, high Resolve and helpful Deed; in the Resurrection of the Body Politic from the Death of Conservatism, the Grave of Reaction and the yellow Dust of Gold; and in the Heaven of universal well-being for Everybody in this, our World.

"We believe in the greatest Good to All, and that Each should work for All and All for Each.

"We believe in the Solidarity and Interdependence of Humankind; that we are all Children of the Common Mother; that Women should have more Rights, Privileges and Immunities than Men, and that the Children should have more than Both.

"We acknowledge that the Community is of greater Value than the Individual, that it is nobler to serve the Race than Self. that Altruism is the highest Virtue and that Selfishness is the basic Crime.

"We believe in the free and equal partner-

ship of Brain and Brawn, of Mind and Muscle, of Thought and Labor; and we believe in their joint Ownership of the Earth and all that is therein.

"We believe that Capital—the dead and inert material thing—is the Creation of Labor—the living God, the Coördination of Force and Matter, the Marriage of the Head and the Hand—and we believe that the Product, the Thing created, is the inalienable Property of the Producer and Creator.

"We believe in a Community of Interest for the Community.

"We believe in Freedom of Mind, Freedom of Body, Freedom of Speech, Freedom to work, Freedom to play, and Freedom to do any and all Things that do not interfere with the Freedom of our Fellows.

"We believe in the Dignity and Nobility of all honest Labor; that only useful, productive or pleasant Work should be done; and that every Human Being has not only the Right of free access to Materials, Machinery and Land, but the Right to express in Beauty and Art 'the Joy of Working.

"We believe that the Government of the Servants of the People should be by the People, that all Law should originate with the People, and that the People have the right and the power to amend, suspend or do away with all Laws at any Time.

"We believe that the Will of the People is the Supreme Law, and its Voice the Mandate of God.

"We believe that Liberty is the eternal Watchword, and that None is free while One is denied the Rights of All.

"We believe in the benevolent Assimilation of every natural and artificial Monopoly, Opportunity and Public Utility by, and for, ALL THE PEOPLE; but we believe, also, in the individual Ownership of the individual Tool and the Necessities, Comforts and Luxuries of Life."

There are also several popular songs to be sung to well-known airs in this little volume. The following are a few stanzas from "Comradetood," written to be sung to the air of "America":

"O Comrades, far and near,
Raise the chant loud and clear
Of Love's good song.
In our resistless might,
Thunder the creed of Right,
Justice and Truth unite
Against the wrong.

"Hark! it sweeps 'round the earth,
Promise of our rebirth,
Of Comradetood;
Promise of Liberty,
Freedom's Equality,
Loving Fraternity,
The Common Good.

"Shout it till we are heard,
And ev'ry heart is stirred
To do and dare;
Shout till the world shall ring,
Shout till the ruth shall sting,
Shout till all people sing
The self-same air.

"Spangled with Hope's bright stars,
Striped with the Sunrise bars
Flag ever true,
Red blood of Brotherhood,
White milk of Motherhood,
Blue of our Faith in Good,
Red, White and Blue!

"Never shall lust of gold,
Greed, or the Trust's cursed hold,
Old Glory shame.
Lift we our hearts to Thee,
First flag of Liberty,
Banner that set man free,
We bless Thy name!"

How to Invest Your Savings. By Facas F. Marcossou. Illuminated Boards. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

IN THE present stage of human progress savings are one of life's essentials; therefore how to save and invest savings is an important consideration. No more sensible little book than this by Mr. Marcossou has ever been issued. It explains in simple form the nature of investment and shows what kinds are safe. It defines financial terms so that all may understand them and points out the pitfalls of speculation. The book is of special value to wage-earners.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Twenty-Three Tales By Tolstoi. Translated by Louise and Alymer Maude. Cloth. Pp. 270. Price, 75 cents net, postage 5 cents. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

THIS excellent little volume will be prized by all lovers of Tolstoi and his work. The twenty-three short stories which make up the book have been selected with rare discrimination, and the translations, like all the

former translations of Tolstoi's writings by Louise and Aylmer Maude, are fine pieces of literary work. The volume contains such gems from the great Russian's short stories as the following: "Where Love Is, God Is," "What Men Live By," "God Sees the Truth, but Waits," "The Story of Ivan the Fool," "The Godson," and "How Much Land Does a Man Need?"

Tolstoi himself placed great stress on the value and importance of the short story as a medium of literary expression, as is shown by the following passage from *What Is Art?*

"The artist of the future will understand that to compose a fairy-tale, a little song which will touch, a lullaby or a riddle which will entertain, a jest which will amuse, or to draw a sketch such as will delight dozens of generations or millions of children and adults, is incomparably more important and more fruitful than to compose a novel, or a symphony, or paint a picture, of the kind which diverts some members of the wealthy classes for a short time and is then for ever forgotten. The region of this art of the simplest feelings accessible to all is enormous, and it is as yet almost untouched."

AMY C. RICH.

The Road. By Jack London. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 224. Price, \$2.00 net. New York: The Macmillan Company.

THERE is something very grim and tragically suggestive in Jack London's latest work, *The Road*. It is a vivid pen-picture of the morally disintegrating influence of tramp life, which is pressed downward at almost every turn by prevailing legal machinery no less than the indifference and cynical contempt of society. The book is autobiographical in character, giving the personal experiences of Mr. London on the road and including a striking pen-picture of his arrest under the charge of vagrancy and his sentence to thirty days in the chain gang, for no other crime than that he was walking through an American city without any visible means of support. The days were when the condition of the unfortunate of our people awakened general solicitude, and the machinery of justice no less than society in general strove to help uplift the unfortunate rather than become a party to the downward pressure; but that day seems to have passed since class and privileged interests have become the pre-

dominating factor in American political life. Mr. London's book is far from pleasing reading, but it carries a tremendous lesson with it—a lesson that men of conscience and high-minded patriots cannot afford to overlook. It is a book that will help on the social revolution that is making for a better and nobler civilization in which the rights of man will take precedence over the arrogant demand of property interests. The book is profusely illustrated and in every way handsomely gotten up.

His Wife. By Warren Cheney. Cloth. Pp. 396. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. CHENEY's stories deal with life in Alaska when the Russians owned that territory and small settlements were established on account of the fur industry. The life described is therefore unfamiliar to re- of fiction, while the author treats his subjects in an unhackneyed manner. This is peculiarly the case with his last story, *His Wife*.

In it one Luka Strukof comes home to find his idolized wife dead. He believes she is merely sleeping and sends his daughter and all sympathizing friends from the house, locks the door and remains beside the dead. The daughter takes refuge with the old commandant of the post and his wife, two quaint and lovable people. On the following morning it is found that Luka and his dead wife have disappeared. The husband's mind has become unhinged and he has taken his wife far away to an ice-surrounded cave. For a time he returns at night to get food, but at length he sets out for his old home, a long way from the post. His brother finds him and takes him to their father's house where the insane man, meeting the affianced wife of the brother, imagines she is his own lost wife. The brother and family urge her to humor him, thinking that in time he will awaken from his dream. Then a strange thing happens. The betrothed wife of the young brother, who has never loved the man whom her father has selected for her after the fashion of the Russians, falls in love with Luka. They are about to fly when the brother appears and a desperate battle ensues in which Luka thinks he has killed his brother. Then the two fly, but Luka says that though they will appear as man and wife before the world, the dead brother will ever be between

them. They return to the old trading post, and a series of exciting happenings occur in rapid succession, while the somber shadow envelops the two and the reader feels at all times that he is treading on the precipitous edge of a tragedy. But in the end the brother comes back, and after a strong scene in which the woman, who by mutual consent is given her choice of the men, chooses Luka, the story ends happily.

There is also another charming love story paralleling the stronger and more gloomy tale. The daughter of Luka and the bashful son of the commandant have their days of anxiety and doubt as they slowly move toward each other.

The story is an admirable companion to Mr. Cheney's former romance of the Northwest, *The Challenge*.

Rosalind at Red Gate. By Meredith Nicholson. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 388. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is we think the best American mystery story of the year. It is inferior to *The House of a Thousand Candles*, but immeasurably superior to *The Port of Missing Men*. In the latter novel our readers will remember that the author tried to imitate the Dumas school of swash-buckling medieval romances, but by casting his story in the familiar present he made a tale so glaringly impossible as to be an affront even to the credulity of easy-going novel readers. There are many improbable not to say impossible situations in *Rosalind at Red Gate*, but the romance is far less absurdly improbable than *The Port of Missing Men* and it is written in Mr. Nicholson's happiest vein. This author is to the mystery novelists of America what Sir Conan Doyle is to those of England,—incomparably the most finished and interesting of the class. *Rosalind at Red Gate* will doubtless prove highly popular with lovers of this kind of fiction.

Mam' Linda. By Will N. Harben. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 388. Price, \$1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

WILL HARBEN is doing for the present-day common life of the southern communities a work very similar to that which Hamlin Garland has done for western communities. Both these writers are choosing to depict in

all its phases the common life of rural and small town communities with photographic accuracy.

In the portrayal of most of his characters and in the setting or background of his romance, Mr. Harben is a realist of realists in the best sense of that word, but in other respects his handling of the story is romantic rather than realistic. He crowds enough action and exciting episodes into his pages to satisfy a Dumas, and there is much of the sensational and melodramatic element here that marks many of the great works of the leading apostles of romanticism. But it is in the portrayal of his hero and heroine, the extreme idealization of these paragons, that the strong line of demarcation between the realist of the Tolstoi or Ibsen school and the romanticist is most apparent. The story is full of action and contains many strongly dramatic passages. It will satisfy the general novel reader who desires an exciting love romance, but its chief value, apart from the pen-picture of present-day Southern life, is found in the magnificent effort to arouse the moral sentiment of the South on the negro question. Mr. Harben is a southerner and has the strong feeling of all true southerners for Dixie. He understands as do only those who have lived in the South and are intimately acquainted with conditions there, the trying and complicated position which obtains, owing to the negro population and the fiery element of the white society that imagines that examples of lawlessness and extreme brutality are more helpful to society than the orderly workings of law in the punishment of grave crimes. Mr. Harben makes a noble plea for law and order, for justice and the example of right, of law and of rigid conformity to the punishment prescribed for criminal procedure in cases of crimes committed by negroes, that mark the administration of justice in regard to other citizens.

The book is one that cannot fail to do much good, as it is a wise, sane, just and eminently common-sense plea for the only course than can in the long run minify race friction and disorder.

Stars of the Stage: Ellen Terry. By Christopher St. John. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 97. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: John Lane Company.

THIS little volume is one of a series edited

by J. T. Grein, dealing with the life and work of eminent actors and dramatists. The series when complete will include biographies of Mr. Beerbohm Tree, Sir Charles Wyndham, W. S. Gilbert, G. B. Shaw, H. A. Jones, Pinero, Duse and Bernhardt.

Mr. St. John's sketch of Miss Terry is sympathetic and gives a very complete account of her life from early childhood to the present time, together with critical comments on the various parts in which she has appeared. The volume is fully illustrated and will be valued by all who are interested in the development of dramatic art, and especially by friends of Miss Terry.

AMY C. RICH.

The Boys of the Old Glee Club. By James Whitcomb Riley. Illustrated by Will Vawter. Cloth. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This reminiscent poem, written in Riley's popular Hoosier dialect, will appeal to the poet's host of admirers with compelling force. It is instinct with that human interest that is the chief charm of Riley's verse, and it will be especially enjoyed by the "Boys in Blue." The illustrations that accompany the text have been drawn by Will Vawter and will rank with the very best drawings of the season. The volume is a superb holiday gift-book by reason of its artistic make-up and the more than twelve full-page drawings that illustrate the text.

Rob the Ranger. A Story of the Fight for Canada. By Herbert Strang. With eight full-page pictures in colors. Cloth. Pp. 369. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

On the Trail of the Arabs. A Story of the Last Days of the Arab Slave Trade. By Herbert Strang. With nine full-page drawings in black and white. Cloth. Pp. 428. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

MR. STRANG has taken up the work that the popular English writer, Henty, carried on so successfully for many years, and he has already written several notable books, the most important being *In Clive's Command*, *Fighting on the Congo*, *Rob the Ranger*, and *On the Trail of the Arabs*.

Young folks who enjoy the works of Henty,

Ellis and Carlton will find in Mr. Strang's works stories that are just as true to history as Henty's and even stronger in general interest and imaginative power, while they are incomparably better works from a literary point-of-view. Henty's stories were of real value because almost every volume contained a vivid pen-picture of some great historical event. As a rule the author was very true to the facts of history and he succeeded in clothing them in so interesting a manner as to awaken an interest in the subject which frequently led to further historical researches. Mr. Strang is following in this pathway and doing his work better than his predecessor.

In *Rob the Ranger* we have a boys' book of the stirring struggle between the English and the French for the possession of Canada. An Indian tale with far too many killings to be pleasant or in some respects profitable reading, yet this story gives a vivid description of the sanguinary struggles in which the red man figured conspicuously.

In *On the Trail of the Arabs* Mr. Strang has given a striking and interesting story depicting the Arab slave trade in Africa and the struggle to wipe it out. Incidentally there is much valuable descriptive matter and other information that will be helpful to the young reader. In his preface the author says, in speaking of the story: "It is a picture of the last days of the Arab domination, when the remnant of Tipu Tib's hordes in remote fastnesses pursued their evil traffic in humanity."

The author's purpose has been to show native races at their best, as they may be when oppression is replaced by sympathy. Both books will be enjoyed by boys who love adventure tales full of spirited action and hairbreadth escapes.

Some Excellent Children's Books.

The Jewelled Toad. By Isabel M. Johnston. Illustrated by W. W. Denslow. Decorated Boards. Pp. 212. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS volume is of the fairy-story class, very clever, and written in such a manner as to charm all children who love fairy tales. It is very superior to most books of the kind and contains many things that show that the author is awake to evil conditions in countries other than that over which the avaricious and cruel king presided.

Towsey, the little forest girl who befriends and cares for the wild animals, is the character that will chiefly appeal to all the little folks, and they will follow her adventures and those of her friends with the deepest interest, trembling when she is in peril, rejoicing when she is successful in befriending the helpless creatures; and great will be their pleasure when they find the little girl with the loving heart becomes the queen of the land.

It is an admirable companion book to the justly popular *Wizard of Oz*, and we think it is fully equal to that volume.

Mother Goose's Puzzle Pictures. A Book for Children. Cloth. Pp. 78. Price, 50 cents. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

THIS is a unique book for very young children, quite out of the general run of books for the little folks in that each picture will give the child something interesting to do, which trains the mind to observe things closely. The publishers' description of the little book is so excellent that we extract a passage or two as giving a fair idea of the just claims which are made for it:

"Everybody is by this time familiar with the latest theory among educators according to which the puzzle-picture—whereby one means, of course, the picture in which some given object is at once outlined and yet hidden by lines apparently belonging to other objects—has been decided of the highest value in training the powers of observation in the mind of the young. The theory itself has passed into general acceptance, but thus far the practical difficulty among the teachers who sought to apply it has been to get the youngsters interested in the search. That difficulty has been overcome in this new series of books.

"In the present volume, the child will read all the familiar Mother Goose rhymes, will see the pictures illustrating them, and will be asked to discover therein one of the objects named in the rhyme. He will, for instance, read how 'Naughty Johnny Green' put poor pussy in the well; will see a picture of her rescue at the hands of 'Big Johnny Stout,' and is called upon to discover the whereabouts, in that same picture, of the wicked Master Green, who is hiding from the wrath of the rescuer."

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

WITH THIS issue THE ARENA commences its Thirty-ninth Volume. It now contains 128 pages in each issue. It carries two forms of coated paper, which admit of fine illustrations. These improvements we have had long in mind, and while they materially increase the cost of manufacture they make possible improvements which will be appreciated by all our readers. This month's issue will appeal to all earnest men and women who dare or care to think. Its contents are rich and varied and are an earnest of what may be expected each month during the coming year.

Political, Social and Economic Discussions: Among the papers dealing with political, social and economic thought we wish to call special attention to Mr. CARL VROOMAN's exceptionally strong and important paper on the railroad question. Mr. VROOMAN was formerly a regent in the Agricultural College of Kansas. During the past few years he has made an exhaustive study of great politico-social questions, most prominent among which has been that of the railroads. In order to be able to know whereof he spoke, he spent many months of indefatigable study in this country, examining the railroad systems, interviewing prominent people and utilizing the various official reports and data of experts relating to the question. Armed with these facts, he went to Europe in order to carry forward a comparative study. He spent about two years in Europe, making this question the master issue during his research. Returning to America, he has prosecuted still further studies on this side of the Atlantic. He is therefore in a position to speak authoritatively. He is a clear reasoner and a fundamental thinker. His paper is an important contribution to one of the overshadowing questions now before the American people.

Of almost equal interest at the present time is the masterly and authoritative paper by ARTHUR B. HAYES, Solicitor of Internal Revenue, Department of the Interior, Washington, on *Inheritance Taxes*. Mr. HAYES has made this question, which is more and more coming to the front as a great live issue, the subject of most painstaking and exhaustive research, in order to make a popular presentation of the matter. His article embraces much important historical data, judicial rulings and the reasons for such rulings. The paper is one that all persons interested in the subject will wish to read and preserve, for the Inheritance Tax is rapidly becoming a live issue in the political arena, and this paper is without question the most valuable magazine discussion of the case that has yet appeared.

The Probable Self-Destruction of the Trust is another extremely thoughtful and valuable contribution dealing with a question that is much in the public mind. The author, Mr. PHILIP RAPPAFORT, is well known to our readers, both as a contributor to this magazine and as the author of some valuable works.

Zionism or Socialism: Which Will Solve the Jewish Question is a contribution that will appeal to thinking Hebrews.

The Editorials in "The Mirror of the Present" and the news records of Public-Ownership, Direct-Legislation, Proportional Representation and the Cooperative movements, all prepared expressly for THE ARENA by specialists, further help to make the January ARENA indispensable to all who would keep abreast of the living issues in the political, social and economic worlds.

Literature, Art and the Drama: In Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON's paper on the Rimini story we have a fine and scholarly paper that will appeal with peculiar force to all lovers of good literature. It is an exceptionally interesting and informing contribution dealing with a theme that has held irresistible charm for great poets since the days of Chaucer.

The paper by the Editor of THE ARENA on Mr. PARTRIDGE's portraits of great poets, philosophers, thinkers and emancipators, and his sketch of ROBERT BROWNING's poetry, will prove attractive to most of our readers; while those persons interested in a great America drama will find great pleasure in Kenyon West's appreciation of the life and work of MINNIE MADDERN FISKE, who is without question the greatest actress in the New World.

Philosophical and Religious Papers: The scholarly contribution on *The Religious and Secular Distinguished*, by Mr. THEODORE SCHROEDER, will doubtless occasion some discussion. Indeed, the Editor of THE ARENA has questioned some of his propositions in an extended foot-note accompanying the paper.

The review of Rev. R. J. Campbell's *New Theology Sermons* and the Editorial on *The Church and the Social Problems of the Hour* are other papers that will interest readers who wish to keep in touch with the advanced religious thought of the present.

The Illustrations in this number are an attractive feature and a feature that during 1908 will add greatly to the interest of THE ARENA.

